

THE USE AND ABUSE OF HISTORIANS:  
POLYBIOS' BOOK XII AND OUR EVIDENCE FOR TIMAIOS\*

*Abstract:* Polybios' Book XII provides crucial evidence concerning Timaios, the main object of Polybios' scorn. Scholars have occasionally studied his specific attacks on Timaios but have tended to concern themselves with the question of whether the critique is justified. But since Timaios survives largely through the lens of Polybios, and Polybios uses Timaios for a very specific purpose — to show how *not* to do history — an important matter for investigation is the methodological one of how we should go about using this evidence. An analysis of Polybios' treatment of Timaios in Book XII, when compared to his statements elsewhere in the *Histories*, highlights the distorting effect of Polybios' polemic on the evidence for Timaios' historiography. It also reveals that, despite his lengthy complaints, Polybios himself provides evidence that Timaios was a respected and successful historian as well as a careful and diligent researcher. My findings help bring out the methodological dangers inherent in the study of the fragmentary historians.

Although only the first five books of Polybios' forty-volume *Histories* survive intact, two sets of excerpts compiled in the Byzantine era preserve portions of the rest. In the last excerpt from Book XI, we find Publius Cornelius Scipio setting sail from Tarraco for Rome in order to stand for election as consul. Upon his victory, Scipio succeeded in moving the theater of the war with Carthage to Africa, and Polybios takes this opportunity to discuss some features of that region at the beginning of his next book<sup>1</sup>. We do not know how extensive this digression originally was, but the first passage from Book XII in the *Excerpta Antiqua* preserves its conclusion:

\* Abbreviations include the following: *HCP* = F.W. WALBANK, *A Historical Commentary on Polybius*, 3 vols., Oxford 1957–1979; *Komm.* = F. JACOBY, *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker*, Vol. IIIb, *Kommentar: Text*, Leiden 1955; PÉDECH, *Polybe* = P. PÉDECH (ed.), *Polybe: Histoires, Livre XII*, (Budé), Paris 1961. All translations are my own unless otherwise noted, and all dates are B.C. unless otherwise stated.

<sup>1</sup> Stephanos of Byzantion preserves five topographical notices from Book XII, and Athenaios (XIV 651d-f) attributes Polybios' description of the lotus to this book. For the textual tradition of Book XII, see PÉDECH, *Polybe*, p. xxxvi–xlvi; *HCP* II, p. 18–20. For Polybios' *Histories* as a whole, see J.M. MOORE, *The Manuscript Tradition of Polybius*, Cambridge 1965. Unless otherwise noted, I use Pédech's Budé text for Greek citations of Book XII; outside Book XII I rely on the Teubner text of Büttner-Wobst.

τὴν μὲν τῆς χώρας ἀρετὴν πᾶς ἂν τις θαυμάσειεν, τὸν δὲ Τίμαιον εἶποι τις ἂν οὐ μόνον ἀνιστόρητον γεγονέναι περὶ τῶν κατὰ τὴν Λιβύην, ἀλλὰ καὶ παιδαριώδη καὶ τελέως ἀσυλλόγιστον καὶ ταῖς ἀρχαίαις φήμαις ἀκμὴν ἐνδεδεμένον, ὅς παρειλήφαμεν, ὥς ἀμμώδους πάσης καὶ ξηρᾶς καὶ ἀκάρπου ὑπαρχούσης τῆς Λιβύης.

Anyone would marvel at the bounty of the country; but one would say that Timaios was not only uninformed concerning things in Africa, but that he was childish and completely illogical and still attached to the ancient reports handed down to us, that say all of Africa is sandy, dry, and barren. (XII 3.1-2)<sup>2</sup>

Polybios goes on to list the many animals that inhabit the region and then repeats his claim that Timaios related none of this, ὥσπερ ἐπίτηδες τάναντία τοῖς κατ' ἀλήθειαν ὑπάρχουσιν ἐξηγεῖται, «as if of set purpose he were describing things exactly opposite of how they really are» (XII 3.6).

Such pointed criticism of other authors is by no means unusual in Polybios, but in most cases it remains brief and he quickly resumes his main narrative<sup>3</sup>. At the beginning of Book XII, however, he continues his attack on Timaios, launching into a lengthy critique of his account of Corsica. Timaios claimed in his second book that the island contained many wild animals; Polybios explains that while the casual observer might gain this impression, the careful researcher would discover that in fact very few of the animals there are wild (XII 3.7-4.4). In addition to Africa and Corsica, Polybios also discusses Timaios' errors concerning Sardinia (omitted by the excerptor) and Italy, all of which is intended to show that Timaios neglected the most important part of history: τὰς ἀνακρίσεις, investigation. Indeed, almost all that survives of Book XII — sixty pages in the Teubner edition — consists of Polybios criticizing

<sup>2</sup> Polybios uses the term 'Libya' to refer to the entire continent of Africa as he knew it: cf. XII 3.5, animals that do not exist in Europe but are plentiful in Libya; XXXIV 7.8 (from Strabo) on the length of Europe as compared with that of Libya and Asia (cf. XXXIV 6.6). Timaios seems to have done the same: *FGrHist* 566 F31a = Polybios XII 25.7, the three parts of the earth are Europe, Asia, and Libya.

<sup>3</sup> The two longest extant digressions devoted to criticizing other authors occur at II 56-63 (Phylarchos) and XVI 14-20 (Zenon and Antisthenes), but neither of these even approaches the book-length attack on Timaios. For Polybios' criticism of historians in general, the fundamental work is K. MEISTER, *Historische Kritik bei Polybios*, Wiesbaden 1975; see now the valuable collection of essays in G. SCHEPENS and J. BOLLANSÉE (eds.), *The Shadow of Polybios: Intertextuality as a Research Tool in Greek Historiography* (*Studia Hellenistica*, 42), Leuven 2005.

his predecessor and his historical writing<sup>4</sup>. At first glance this procession into polemic appears casual: a description of Africa on the eve of Scipio's invasion leads to a demonstration of Timaios' ignorance on the subject, which just happens to grow into a wide-ranging critique of the historian. Nor is there any mention of this topic in Polybios' revised introduction to the entire work, at the beginning of Book III<sup>5</sup>. But the digression was certainly planned, as Polybios eventually reveals: he acknowledges that his critique of Timaios will force him to stray from his main narrative, but he has reserved it for one place, he says, «so that I am not compelled regularly to neglect that task»<sup>6</sup>. Evidently he had much to say.

Because it represents one of the few surviving ancient discussions on historical method, Polybios' Book XII has received a good deal of attention from modern scholars, most of whom examine the coherence of his statements on the subject<sup>7</sup>. But Book XII also provides crucial evidence

<sup>4</sup> Chapters 17 through 22 as they stand in our current editions consist of a critique by Polybios of Kallisthenes' account of the battle of Issos. Its connection to the Timaian material in Book XII is unclear: see K. SACKS, *Polybios on the Writing of History*, Berkeley 1981, p. 70 n. 109 and Appendix A; G. SCHEPENS, *Polemic and Methodology in Polybios' Book XII*, in: H. VERDIN, G. SCHEPENS and E. DE KEYSER (eds.), *Purposes of History: Studies in Greek Historiography from the 4th to the 2nd centuries B.C.*, Leuven 1990, p. 39-61, at p. 41 n. 6.

<sup>5</sup> III 4-5. See *HCP* I, p. 292-297; F.W. WALBANK, *Polybios*, Berkeley 1972, p. 25.

<sup>6</sup> XII 11.6-7. Cf. PÉDECH, *Polybe*, p. xvi; F.W. WALBANK, *Three Notes on Polybios XII*, in: *Miscellanea di Studi Alessandrini in memoria di Augusto Rostagni*, Turin 1963, p. 203-213, at p. 204.

<sup>7</sup> The student of Polybios' Book XII still relies on two older but indispensable aids: the pages of Walbank's commentary devoted to the book (*HCP* II, p. 317-412), and the Budé edition with Pédech's introduction, notes, and commentary. K. MEISTER, *Historische Kritik* (n. 3), p. 3-53, provides an excellent overview of the book, but his analysis is mostly concerned with the issue of whether particular points of criticism are justified or not. Other studies of note on Book XII specifically include: T. FÖGEN, *Zur Kritik des Polybios an Timaios von Tauromenion*, *Listy Filologické* 122 (1999), p. 1-31; G. SCHEPENS, *Polemic and Methodology* (n. 4); K. SACKS, *Polybios* (n. 4), esp. p. 21-78; M.A. LEVI, *La critica di Polibio a Timeo*, in: *Miscellanea di Studi Alessandrini in memoria di Augusto Rostagni*, Turin 1963, p. 195-202; F.W. WALBANK, *Three Notes* (n. 6); and R. KOERNER, *Polybios als Kritiker früherer Historiker*, Diss. Jena (1957), summarized in K. STIEWE and N. HOLZBERG (eds.), *Polybios (Wege der Forschung 347)*, Darmstadt 1982, p. 327-331. Also important are R. VATTUONE, *Timeo, Polibio e la storiografia greca d'occidente*, in: *The Shadow of Polybios* (n. 3), p. 89-122; ID., *Storici greci d'Occidente*, Bologna 2002, p. 184-192 (a condensed version of his earlier treatment in *Sapienza d'Occidente: il pensiero storico di Timeo di Tauromenion*, Bologna 1991, p. 19-62); J. MARINCOLA, *Authority and Tradition in Ancient Historiography*, Cambridge 1997, p. 229-232; J. BONCQUET, *Polybios on the Critical Evaluation of Historians*, *AncSoc*

concerning Timaios, the object of Polybios' scorn. The son of Andromakhos, who founded Tauromenion in Sicily, Timaios was exiled by the Syracusan tyrant Agathokles around 315 and spent the rest of his life in Athens<sup>8</sup>. There, he wrote a 38-volume history of the Greeks in the Western Mediterranean, from the earliest times until 289, to which he appended a work on Pyrrhos' wars in Italy and Sicily which followed events down to 264 (the Romans' crossing of the Straits of Messina and the beginning of the First Punic War). Timaios was also one of the first Greek historians to treat Rome in any detail, and as a result he was held in high repute by the Romans well into imperial times<sup>9</sup>. As with every piece of Hellenistic historiography other than Polybios', Timaios' work did not survive antiquity. Therefore, we rely solely on 'fragments' of his text — a misleading term, since these are not pieces of papyrus or stone, but rather quotations, citations, and paraphrases by later authors. Twenty-six of Jacoby's 164 Timaian fragments consist solely or in part of passages from Polybios' Book XII, making it the most abundant source of evidence<sup>10</sup>. Thus Timaios survives largely through the lens of Polybios.

13/14 (1982/83), p. 277-291; G.A. LEHMANN, *Polybios und die ältere und zeitgenössische griechische Geschichtsschreibung: einige Bemerkungen*, in: *Polybe (Entretiens Hardt, 20)*, Geneva 1974, p. 147-165; F.W. WALBANK, *Polybios* (n. 5), p. 48-55; ID., *Polemic in Polybios*, *JRS* 52 (1962), p. 1-12; M. ISNARDI, *Τέχνη e ἥθος nella metodologia storiografica di Polibio*, *Studi Classici e Orientali* 3 (1955), p. 102-110. For bibliography on Polybios in general since 1975, see the introduction to F.W. WALBANK, *Polybios, Rome, and the Hellenistic World: Essays and Reflections*, Cambridge 2002.

<sup>8</sup> On Timaios, see D. FEENEY, *Caesar's Calendar: Ancient Time and the Beginnings of History*, Berkeley and Los Angeles 2007, p. 47-52; R. VATTUONE, *Storici greci* (includes an excellent bibliographical essay) and *Sapienza d'Occidente* (n. 7); L. PEARSON, *The Greek Historians of the West. Timaeus and his Predecessors*, Atlanta 1987; A. MOMIGLIANO, *Athens in the Third Century B.C. and the Discovery of Rome in the Histories of Timaeus of Tauromenion*, in: *Essays in Ancient and Modern Historiography*, Middletown (CT) 1977, p. 37-66; T.S. BROWN, *Timaeus of Tauromenion*, Berkeley and Los Angeles 1958.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. XII 28.6; Cicero, *De or.* II 55-58 = *FGrHist* 566 T20; Gellius, *NA* XI 1.1 = *FGrHist* 566 T9c. Timaios also had a crucial impact on Roman historiography: see D. FEENEY, *Caesar's Calendar* (n. 8), p. 52-53.

<sup>10</sup> In addition, T19, in which Jacoby placed Polybios' comments about Timaios, makes up six-and-a-half of the eleven pages devoted to the testimonia. Timaios is no. 566 in Jacoby's collection. In this article, however, I forego citing the testimonia and fragments of Timaios from Polybios' Book XII as printed by Jacoby. His categories of 'fragments' and 'testimonia' forced him to divide the Polybian material into statements about Timaios and reports of what Timaios wrote in his *Histories*. Since the line between these categories is not always clear, I have found it much simpler to refer the reader directly to Polybios' text (already fragmentary itself).

Scholars have occasionally focused on Polybios' specific attacks on Timaios but have tended to concern themselves with the question of whether the critique is justified. For example, was Polybios correct to favor Aristotle's version of the foundation of Italian Lokris over that of Timaios?<sup>11</sup> My goal, on the other hand, is methodological in nature, concerned more with Timaios than with Polybios: I aim to show that the polemical context of Book XII has a profound impact on the evidence it preserves concerning Timaios, and that the fragments derived from Book XII must be employed with extreme caution when forming a judgment on Timaios as a historian<sup>12</sup>. Polemic, of course, formed a key component of ancient historiography from the beginning of the genre, and Polybios' attempts to solidify and augment his place in the tradition were nothing new, nor was Timaios his only target<sup>13</sup>. But Polybios uses Timaios for a more specific purpose: to show how *not* to do history. Nor is his goal simply the edification of the reader; in putting down Timaios, Polybios elevates his own standing. This was very important for Polybios, because he wished to supplant Timaios as *the* Greek historian of Rome<sup>14</sup>. In light of this, we should not expect Polybios to offer an objective, balanced, or perhaps even a fair view of Timaios' work. Thus, after briefly outlining the specific problems Polybios has with Timaios, I will analyze a number of passages which show most clearly how his treatment of his predecessor distorts our view. I will also examine Polybios' comments on Timaios

<sup>11</sup> See, for example, K. MEISTER, *Historische Kritik* (n. 3), p. 50, who summarizes his own view on the justification of Polybios' critique (which is the focus of his entire treatment) as well as the views of Koerner, Lehmann, Jacoby, Brown, and Pédech.

<sup>12</sup> R. VATTUONE, *Sapienza d'Occidente* (n. 7), p. 19-62 argues that Polybios did not understand the historiographical context in which Timaios' statements originally stood. As a result, he deals largely with the last section of Book XII (chaps. 24-28a), where Polybios criticizes his predecessor's 'methodological' statements; cf. ID., *Storici greci*, p. 187-192; and for a similar treatment of an individual fragment from Book XII (F94), ID., *Timeo F94. Gelone tra Erodoto e Polibio*, RSA 13-14 (1983-84), p. 201-211. I am more concerned with the way in which Polybios' polemic taints the evidence for Timaios as a whole through deliberate misrepresentation of his work and his method.

<sup>13</sup> For the tradition of polemic amongst Greek historians, see J. MARINCOLA, *Authority and Tradition* (n. 7), p. 217-236 and G. SCHEPENS, *Polemic and Methodology* (n. 4), p. 39-44 (both with abundant references to the ancient sources). On Polybios in particular, see F.W. WALBANK, *The Two-Way Shadow: Polybios among the Fragments*, in: *The Shadow of Polybios* (n. 3), p. 1-18, an update of his earlier treatment, *Polemic in Polybios* (n. 7); P. PÉDECH, *La culture de Polybe et la science de son temps*, in: *Polybe (Entretiens Hardt, 20)*, Geneva 1974, p. 42-46.

<sup>14</sup> F.W. WALBANK, *Polemic in Polybios* (n. 7), p. 10; *Komm.* 526. On Timaios and Rome, A. MOMIGLIANO, *art. cit.* (n. 8) remains fundamental.

which occur outside the context of the polemic in Book XII. I find that, despite his lengthy complaints, Polybios himself, both in Book XII and elsewhere, provides evidence that Timaios was a respected and successful historian and, in certain areas, a careful and diligent researcher. My findings highlight the methodological dangers inherent in the study of fragmentary historians<sup>15</sup>.

#### POLYBIOS' CASE AGAINST TIMAIOS

Polybios attacks Timaios on many fronts, but we can delineate four broad categories of complaint. First, he accuses Timaios of being excessive in his criticism of other authors (as well as the historical figures he writes about). The term that appears most often in this connection and which underlies Polybios' entire portrait of Timaios is *πικρία*, «bitterness»<sup>16</sup>. He displayed a bitterness exceeding the bounds of propriety not only for the historian, but even for the educated man generally. The excessive nature of Timaios' attacks lay not just in their large quantity, but in the language with which he expressed them. Polybios likens Timaios' invective against Aristotle to the sort of thing one would barely tolerate from a beggar in the lawcourts (XII 8.5-6), and his abuse of Demochares is something not even a brothel-worker would utter (XII 13.2). As a result, Polybios finds Timaios guilty of a professional failing as well as a moral defect. Engaging in excessive abuse lowers the tone of the work below what is proper for a serious history and has a deleterious effect on one's readers (XII 26c.1-26d.6). But Polybios goes beyond merely listing examples of Timaios' excessive criticism. He repeatedly alleges that Timaios committed the same errors of which he accused others. Polybios' goal is not only to make Timaios look foolish, but to allow himself to continue conducting his own polemic without seeming too excessive<sup>17</sup>.

Secondly, according to Polybios, Timaios displayed a disturbing lack of concern for the truth, without which history becomes «a useless

<sup>15</sup> I examined this issue at much greater length in my unpublished dissertation, which I am in the process of revising; the completed manuscript will use Timaios as a case study for approaching the fragmentary Hellenistic historians.

<sup>16</sup> XII 11.4, 14.1, 14.7, 15.4, 15.10, 23.1-2, 25.5, 26d.3.

<sup>17</sup> J. MARINCOLA, *Authority and Tradition* (n. 7), p. 230-231.

tale»<sup>18</sup>. Worse, Timaios was not just wrong; he lied intentionally, κατὰ προαίρεσιν. Throughout his work Polybios emphasizes the distinction between writing something untrue out of ignorance versus doing so deliberately.<sup>19</sup> «For we have said,» he writes in Book XII, «that those who write falsely on account of ignorance must receive kind correction and pardon, while those who do so intentionally must suffer never-ending accusation»<sup>20</sup>. Thus it was important for Polybios to claim that Timaios lied deliberately, for if his many mistakes were committed unknowingly, polemic of this length would not be warranted. As a result, the theme of deliberate falsehood runs throughout Book XII.

The third category of complaint for Polybios concerns Timaios' intellect. Polybios constantly depicts him as foolish, childish, simple, superstitious, lazy, and even womanly. For example, he compares Timaios to Margites, a comic-epic hero and a proverbial name for a fool, on account of a phrase he put into the mouth of Timoleon exhorting his troops before battle (XII 25.8). Timaios' reliance on books rather than practical experience is as simple-minded (εὔηθες) as someone who believes he can become an accomplished painter simply from viewing the works of past masters (XII 25e.7). In general, Timaios displayed ἀγνοῖα, ignorance (XII 25k.1), and he was not a πεπαιδευμένος ἀνὴρ, an educated man (XII 13.2). This indicates not just a lack of instruction, but a cultural deficiency, not having a sense of what is proper. Timaios' lack of education also extends to the practical experience of the statesman, which lies at the heart of the distinction Polybios wishes his reader to draw between them, for he has insisted on his own special claim to πραγματικὴ ἱστορία, «pragmatic history». Pédech has shown that this refers to political and military narrative of events within the historical period as opposed to mythology, foundation legends, and heroic genealogies<sup>21</sup>. This requires participation in political and military affairs

<sup>18</sup> XII 12.3: ἐξ ἱστορίας ἐὰν ἄρης τὴν ἀλήθειαν, τὸ καταλειπόμενον αὐτῆς ἀνωφελὲς γίνεται διήγημα. This repeats a statement Polybios makes near the beginning of the work, I 14.6; cf. XII 25g.2.

<sup>19</sup> T. FÖGEN, *art. cit.* (n. 7), p. 2 n. 4; J. MARINCOLA, *Authority and Tradition* (n. 7), p. 222.

<sup>20</sup> XII 7.6: τοῖς μὲν γὰρ κατ' ἄγνοιαν ψευδογραφοῦσιν ἔφαμεν δεῖν διόρθωσιν εὐμενικὴν καὶ συγγνώμην ἐξακολουθεῖν, τοῖς δὲ κατὰ προαίρεσιν ἀπαραίτητον κατηγορίαν. Similar statements appear at XII 12.4–7, as part of Polybios' conclusion to the Lokrian discussion, that Timaios clearly belongs to the latter category of deliberate liars.

<sup>21</sup> P. PÉDECH, *La méthode historique de Polybe*, Paris 1964, p. 21–32; see also F.W. WALBANK, *Polybios* (n. 5), p. 55–58.



which Timaios could not claim (XII 25k.8). More than that, Polybios says, he suffered from a βιβλική ἑξις (XII 25h.3). *Hexis* refers not only to ‘habit’ but also to the condition of a person’s mind or body. It is not just that Timaios spent all his time in the library, according to Polybios, but that reliance on books defined his character<sup>22</sup>.

These three criticisms — Timaios’ immoderate attacks on others, his penchant for lying intentionally, and his lack of education and experience — are closely interrelated, and all feed into Polybios’ fourth major complaint, that Timaios was unable and unwilling to perform the duties necessary to write history. On numerous occasions in the first part of Book XII Polybios draws the reader’s attention to his predecessor’s shortcomings. He accuses Timaios of doing things sloppily (ἐπισέστυται, XII 4c.3), haphazardly (ἀπεσχεδίακε, XII 3.6, 4.4), carelessly (παρέργως, XII 4.4), or just plain poorly (κακῶς, XII 4.4, 4c.2; cf. 24.6, κακοκρισίαν). Overall, he says, Timaios was ἀνιστορητός — at the specific level he skipped investigation, and therefore at the general level he was «un-historian-like» (XII 3.2, 4c.2, 4d.2).

Polybios’ countless statements on the prerequisites and obligations of the historian have seduced some scholars into treating Book XII as a sort of manual on how to write history. But it is misleading to refer to the book as a digression on historical method, or to state that its purpose is to lay out a theory of historiography, since this obscures its highly polemical nature<sup>23</sup>. This is in no way a disinterested, objective treatise on historical method. Polybios’ object in Book XII is to explode Timaios’ reputation as a great historian and to raise himself into that position. As Schepens states, Polybios uses statements on historical method to support his criticism of Timaios, rather than vice versa<sup>24</sup>. This becomes clear when we consider the final chapters of the book in light of the criticisms of Timaios outlined above. Polybios argues that examining

<sup>22</sup> PÉDECH, *Polybe*, p. 135; *LSJ* s.v. ἑξις. See R. VATTUONE, *Ricerche su Timeo: la “pueritia” di Agatocle*, Florence 1983, p. 10 n. 16.

<sup>23</sup> E.g., K. SACKS, *Polybius* (n. 4), p. 66-78 (exposition of theory); PÉDECH, *Polybe*, p. vii (digression on method). R. VATTUONE, *Ricerche su Timeo* (n. 22), p. 10 n. 17 states that he shares (for the most part) Pédech’s view; this reflects his emphasis on Polybios’ ‘misunderstanding’ Timaios and his context, as opposed to my focus on Polybios’ distortion of Timaios. Vattuone nevertheless operates under the assumption, as I do, that we must attempt to study Timaios outside the Polybian framework imposed on the evidence.

<sup>24</sup> G. SCHEPENS, *Polemic and Methodology* (n. 4), p. 50ff. Cf. the comments of F.W. WALBANK, *Polemic in Polybius* (n. 7), p. 11 n. 34.



documents and reading previous writers is only one of three prerequisites to writing history. The historian, he says, must also become familiar with the physical features of his world, and he must either be an eyewitness to events or, if this is not possible, obtain testimony directly from participants in those events (XII 25e.1-2). In fact, Polybios goes on to maintain that the 'documentary' aspect of history is the *least* important of the three (XII 25i.2; cf. 27a.3-27.6). It is more than just coincidence, I believe, that such documentary work was Timaios' specialty and the backbone of his reputation as an authority (XII 10.4, 27a), since in this same context Polybios raises the issue of Timaios' long sedentary existence in Athens (XII 25d.1, 25h.1). In essence, Polybios argues that all the library research in the world cannot make up for a lack of personal experience in seeing places and witnessing events.

However, we soon learn that, above and beyond the three prerequisites, even eyewitness testimony alone does not allow one to write proper history. In order to make use of such information, Polybios asserts that a historian must be a man of action, with experience in political and military affairs (XII 25g.1, 25h.4-6). Near the end of Book XII as we have it, Polybios draws a parallel with Plato's philosopher-king: history will only be written correctly when men of action (οἱ πραγματικοί) write it, or when historians consider it necessary to gain experience before writing (XII 28.1-5). Throughout his work, Polybios makes clear that he has that experience<sup>25</sup>. In sum, Polybios sees himself as the ideal historian: he has read his historians, he has travelled the world, he has witnessed and participated in great events and, for those he missed, he knows men who took part. Above all, he has the political and military experience necessary to do something with all that information, to turn it into history. But Timaios is a predecessor held in high repute amongst portions of Polybios' target audience, as he admits at several points<sup>26</sup>. Thus Polybios can accomplish two goals through his lengthy critique: tearing down Timaios' reputation while staking his own claim to the truth, showing the proper way to write history while showing that Timaios did not. In other words, whether Polybios' portrayal is accurate or not, Timaios serves as a convenient straw man. And for those of us attempting to study Timaios, that

<sup>25</sup> See R. VON SCALA, *Die Studien des Polybios*, Stuttgart 1890, p. 6-10 for a list of important passages in this regard. In Book XII itself, for example, Polybios mentions his services to the Lokrians (XII 5.1-3).

<sup>26</sup> XII 25c.1, 26d.1-6, 28.6; also 10.4 and 25a.3.

is the crucial point to recognize — ultimately, it is extremely difficult to determine the extent to which the real Timaios resembled the one we find in Book XII of Polybios. Our first step, therefore, must be to refuse to take Polybios' statements about him at face value.

Unfortunately, most modern scholars have in fact taken Polybios at his word in their judgments on Timaios<sup>27</sup>. The pernicious influence of Polybios' portrayal comes through clearly, for example, in Walbank's 1962 essay on *Polemic in Polybios*. Walbank shows that Polybios' criticism of other writers often stems from causes different than the ones he states expressly. With regard to Timaios, Walbank finds that Polybios' arguments against him, especially on the Lokrian issue, are based merely on probability, not on any new evidence. He recognizes that Polybios needed to tear down Timaios because he represented a potential rival claimant to the position of 'genuine historian of Rome'. He even notes that outside the polemical context of Book XII the portrait of Timaios is rather different, as I will show in more detail later. Walbank concludes that Polybios' attack is based largely on personal dislike of his predecessor; overall, he says, «Wherever one looks at Polybios' accusations in detail, they appear to be disproportionate or vicious, or both»<sup>28</sup>. Nonetheless, Walbank accepts Polybios' overall judgment, that Timaios «no doubt had many faults», and he refuses to see the attack as in any way dishonest: Timaios' «emphasis, methods of work and conception of the nature of history were all anathema to Polybios, who cared seriously for history as well as for his own reputation as a historian»<sup>29</sup>. To imply that Timaios did not

<sup>27</sup> Some scholars have expressed reservations about accepting Polybios' polemic wholesale, but most still end up sharing his conclusion. The only recent exceptions are G. SCHEPENS, *Politics and Belief in Timaeus of Tauromenium*, *AncSoc* 25 (1994), p. 249-278, esp. p. 252-257, and R. VATTUONE, throughout his works: see esp. *Storici greci* (n. 7), p. 225; *Ricerche su Timeo* (n. 22), p. 11 n. 20. Much more typical are statements such as this one by G.L. CAWKWELL, in a review of L. PEARSON, *Greek Historians of the West* (n. 8): «Fragments can greatly misrepresent, but the impression that [Timaios] was, as a historian, distinctly shady, is reinforced by the severe judgement of Polybios...» (*CR* 39 [1989], p. 244-245).

<sup>28</sup> F.W. WALBANK, *Polemic in Polybios* (n. 7), p. 9.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 9, 11. Similarly *id.*, *Polybios* (n. 5), p. 54-55: after demonstrating the «dis-ingenuousness» behind some of Polybios' attacks against Timaios, the reason for which lies mostly in personal jealousy of his reputation among the Romans, Walbank immediately states that «[m]ore important than this personal motivation» for Polybios' polemic against other writers is his «genuine belief that the kind of writing in which they indulge ... is inimical to the real standards of history, judged by the criterion of political utility». But this involves the use of evidence which Walbank has just shown to be heavily tainted, accepting Polybios' portrayal as an accurate representation of «the kind of writing» in

care about these things is to fall victim to exactly those «disproportionate» and «vicious» attacks which Walbank himself highlights.

Labuske, on the other hand, in his 1984 treatment of Polybios and his contemporary colleagues, takes a very sceptical view of the critique of Timaios, arguing that the two historians were not so different in basic principles or methodology. Thus he labels Polybios' polemic «as hateful as it is unqualified» and sees it stemming from «not only political or professional differences, but also from the personal aversion of the 'pragmatic' historian to 'book-learning' and even from purely literary jealousy»<sup>30</sup>. Polybios claims that Timaios could not fulfill the entire task of the historian because he was not a statesman and did not engage in political activity. But what it really boils down to, Labuske argues, is that Timaios was not connected to political power in the way that Polybios and many other Hellenistic historians were<sup>31</sup>. This is certainly a step in the right direction, but Labuske's focus remains Polybios and his historiography. What is needed is an examination of Timaios based on a critical approach to the Polybian evidence<sup>32</sup>.

#### POLYBIOS' DISTORTING EFFECT

At the end of the first preserved section of Book XII — that concerning Timaios' ignorance of the geography and ethnography of the Western Mediterranean — Polybios concludes that Timaios «has slurred over» (ἐπισέσθρηται) the most important part of writing history: investigation (τὸ περὶ τὰς ἀνακρίσεις μέρος). He explains that, since it is not possible for one man to witness all events nor to be familiar with all places, the historian must obtain information from as many people as possible

which Timaios indulged. Much remains the same in Walbank's most recent treatment of the topic, *The Two-Way Shadow* (n. 13), p. 6-15.

<sup>30</sup> H. LABUSKE, *Geschichtsschreibung im Hellenismus: Polybios und seine Konkurrenten*, *Klio* 66 (1984), p. 479-487, at p. 480: «die ebenso gehässige wie unqualifizierte Polemik, die Polybios gegen seinen Vorgänger Timaios richtet, zum guten Teil nicht nur aus politischen oder wissenschaftlichen Differenzen, sondern aus persönlicher Abneigung des 'Praktikers' gegen den 'Stubengelehrten' und auch aus purem literarischem Neid».

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 483.

<sup>32</sup> T. FÖGEN, *art. cit.* (n. 7), attempts to show that «one must interpret Polybios' own statements with caution» (p. 4), and he concludes that the negative evaluation of Timaios is «often exaggerated and unfair» (p. 25). But like Labuske, the subject of his essay remains Polybios rather than Timaios.

and then judge what is trustworthy (XII 4c.2-5). The sentiment may be true, but we may also infer from the text that Polybios is not entirely comfortable criticizing Timaios in this particular respect. For he immediately shifts the ground on which the argument takes place. First he states that Timaios merely «put on a great show» (μεγίστην ἐπίφασιν ἔλκων) of being truthful, but in fact fell short; then he claims that Timaios was «so far from investigating the truth accurately through (the questioning of) others, that not even on things which he witnessed and on places where he himself went does he tell us anything sound»<sup>33</sup>. Polybios employs this logical sleight-of-hand to set up the linchpin of his argument: if it can be shown that Timaios was ignorant and untruthful about things in his native land of Sicily, he says, no further evidence of his falseness (ψευδολογία) will be needed (XII 4d.4).

Proof that Timaios was mistaken about Sicilian affairs to which he was an eyewitness would indeed provide damning evidence against his historical acumen (although as we will see, Polybios does not offer any such proof). But it has no bearing on the issue of his ability and willingness to make inquiries on affairs of which he has no first-hand knowledge. The latter has been the topic at hand so far in Book XII, and Polybios has given two examples of failed inquiry on Timaios' part, as we saw earlier: Timaios reported Africa to be «sandy, dry, and barren» when in fact it is highly productive and abounds with animals, partly because he was «still attached to the old legends» (XII 3.2); and concerning Corsica, Timaios mistakenly reported that it has many wild goats, sheep, and cattle — when in fact, Polybios claims, it has none — as a result of «poor and cursory inquiry» (κακῶς καὶ παρέργως ἱστορήσας, XII 4.4). Polybios believes these examples help show that Timaios has not fulfilled either part of the historian's duty as he sees it: making inquiries, and choosing the most credible reports<sup>34</sup>.

But the final example of this section, concerning Italy, does not fit in so well, and may provide a hint as to why Polybios leaves this line of argumentation behind. It involves the only fragment explicitly attributed

<sup>33</sup> XII 4d.1-3: τοσοῦτο γὰρ ἀπέχει τοῦ δι' ἑτέρων ἀκριβῶς τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἐξετάζειν ὥς οὐδὲ τούτων ὧν αὐτόπτης γέγονεν καὶ εφ' οὗς αὐτὸς ἦκει τόπους, οὐδὲ περὶ τούτων οὐδὲν ὑγιὲς ἡμῖν ἐξηγεῖται. Cf. T. FÖGEN, *art. cit.* (n. 7), p. 5-6: Polybios' «Argumentation ist also aus rein logischen Gesichtspunkten heraus inkohärent».

<sup>34</sup> XII 4c.5. Polybios himself had traveled in various parts of Africa, including a visit to Massinissa in Numidia (IX 25.4) and a voyage along the northwestern coast (III 59.7). Thus in criticizing Timaios' account he calls attention to his own practical experience of the world. See *HCP* I, p. 393.

to Timaios' work on Pyrrhos, in which he recorded the Roman ritual of the October Horse (XII 4b.1-4c.1). Festus preserves a fuller description of the rite, which involved the sacrificial slaughter of a war-horse in the Campus Martius annually on the Ides of October<sup>35</sup>. Timaios explained the ritual, according to Polybios, as a commemoration of the capture of Troy by means of the Wooden Horse, showing that he believed the Romans to be descendants of the Trojans. Polybios finds this «the most childish statement of all» (πρᾶγμα πάντων παιδαριωδέστατον) and a display not only of ignorance (ἄπειρίαν) but of great pedantry (ὀψιμαθίαν πολλήν). For, he says, nearly all barbarians perform a similar rite before beginning a war or going into a crucial battle, and thus one would be forced to conclude that all such peoples are descended from the Trojans<sup>36</sup>. The failing of Timaios in this case, as Polybios reports it, is due not to lack of inquiry or poor choice of source, but to Timaios' own ignorance in interpreting the information — still a fault, but not a historiographical one. It is interesting that Polybios says nothing at all in this instance about Timaios' lack of autopsy or careless inquiry. Considering Timaios' popularity at Rome, this passage would seem an ideal place for Polybios to put his predecessor's mistakes concerning the city's history on display.

Ironically, evidence from later in Book XII — provided by Polybios himself — indicates that Timaios was in fact a diligent researcher and collector of information<sup>37</sup>. Following the discussion concerning Timaios'

<sup>35</sup> Festus s.vv. *October equus* (p. 190 Lindsay), *Panibus* (p. 246 Lindsay); cf. Plutarch, *Mor.* 287a (*Quaest. Rom.*). See PÉDECH, *Polybe*, p. 66-67.

<sup>36</sup> There may be further Polybian distortion at work here as well. His statement at the end of the passage, which is meant to explain his accusation of pedantry (ὀψιμαθία) on Timaios' part, seems to imply that the connection between the Roman ritual and the capture of Troy existed only in Timaios' febrile imagination. But Timaios was not the first person to link Rome and Troy: for earlier writers, see E. GRUEN, *Culture and National Identity in Republican Rome*, Ithaca 1992, p. 6-51, esp. p. 12-20, 27-28; for the existence of a prior oral tradition, A. ERSKINE, *Troy between Greece and Rome: Local Tradition and Imperial Power*, Oxford 2001, p. 139-156. As Jacoby states, «for Timaios the October Horse is a confirmation of the old tradition, not the basis for a theory» (*Komm.* p. 557). Polybios does appear to be correct, however, in the sense that the ritual is paralleled in other ancient cultures and probably has Indo-European origins: see R. DREWS, *The Coming of the Greeks*, Princeton 1988, p. 151.

<sup>37</sup> Cf. K. MEISTER, *Historische Kritik* (n. 3), p. 9-10: he concludes that Polybios' method in this first section is to catch hold of one or two mistakes in order to condemn the entire work; the examples Polybios gives do not prove his point that Timaios' investigative methods were lacking. Meister also points to Polybios' own statement at III 58-59 that earlier writers must be forgiven for their geographical errors.

geography of the Western Mediterranean (XII 3-4d), the various excerptors preserve parts of a long section in which Polybios treats Timaios' criticism of other writers (XII 5-16). One of these writers was Aristotle, whom Timaios attacked at length over his account of the founding of Italian Lokris<sup>38</sup>. Polybios reports that Timaios made a visit to the Lokrians in mainland Greece to investigate the facts concerning the colony. There he was shown a written treaty between the mother city and the colony which began with the phrase, «As parents to children». In addition, there were decrees showing *politeia* between the two cities<sup>39</sup>. Timaios also examined the laws and customs of Italian Lokris and found them befitting a colony of freepersons rather than lazy household servants, based on the penalties they prescribed for kidnappers, adulterers, and runaway slaves — the very people Aristotle had claimed were the founders of the city<sup>40</sup>.

Polybios' response to the evidence adduced by Timaios is bizarre, if not desperate. Timaios, he says, did not report which Lokris in Greece he visited to obtain his information (there were two, East and West), nor where exactly the written treaties were found, nor the names of the magistrates with whom he spoke. Since he remained silent on all these matters, Polybios concludes, δῆλός ἐστι συνειδὼς αὐτῷ κατὰ πρόθεσιν ἐψευσμένῳ, «it is clear that he knowingly lied by design» (XII 10.6). Yet the reason Polybios gives for being so certain of this deliberate falsehood actually undermines his entire case against Timaios' slackness in investigative matters<sup>41</sup>. Polybios describes Timaios as a man obsessed with citing his sources of information, with confirming their reliability, with finding new inscriptional evidence, with comparing and reconciling conflicting data; and he finds it impossible to believe that a man like

<sup>38</sup> L. PEARSON, *Greek Historians of the West* (n. 8), p. 98-105; *HCP*, ad loc.; T.S. BROWN, *Timaeus* (n. 8), p. 44-50.

<sup>39</sup> XII 9.2-4: ὥς γονεῦσι πρὸς τέκνα.

<sup>40</sup> XII 9.5-6. The μεταβάς at the beginning of XII 5 is probably used in the figurative sense of «turning to (the topic of)» rather than a literal sense of «crossing over to»; in other words, it does not provide evidence that Timaios actually visited Italian Lokris for the purposes of his investigation (although such cannot be ruled out). Compare its use by Polybios a few chapters later at XII 11.5. *HCP* II, p. 345; K. MEISTER, *Historische Kritik* (n. 3), p. 18 and n. 75.

<sup>41</sup> Nor does it convince on this particular case: Polybios «fails to prove Timaios a liar», *HCP*, ad loc. F.W. WALBANK, *The Two-Way Shadow* (n. 13), p. 6-10 discusses the potentially distorting role played by Athenaios in his report of the slavery argument, but this does not affect my general conclusion concerning the passage.

that would leave out any information concerning such matters if he had it. But in making his point, Polybios inadvertently introduces evidence extremely damaging to his own case.

καίτοι διότι τοῦτ' ἰδίον ἐστι Τιμαίου καὶ ταύτῃ παρημίλληται τοὺς ἄλλους συγγραφέας καὶ καθόλου τῇδὲ πῃ <τέτευχε> τῆς ἀποδοχῆς<sup>42</sup> – λέγω δὲ κατὰ τὴν ἐν τοῖς χρόνοις καὶ ταῖς ἀναγραφαῖς ἐπίφασιν τῆς ἀκριβείας καὶ τὴν περὶ τοῦτο τὸ μέρος ἐπιμέλειαν – δοκῶ, πάντες γινώσκομεν.

And yet, the thing in which he outdoes other writers and because of which, all in all, he enjoys his reputation — I mean his show of accuracy in chronology and written records and his concern for this matter — that this is Timaios' special characteristic, I suppose everyone knows. (XII 10.4)

Polybios goes on to describe one instance of this characteristic concern for source documentation. Timaios not only identified one of his informants on the issue of Italian Lokris, a man named Ekhekrates, but went so far as to report that this man's father had been thought worthy to serve as an envoy for the Syracusan tyrant Dionysios — the idea being that Ekhekrates came from a family of noble standing and therefore, based on the moral criteria so often employed by the ancients, could be trusted to tell the truth. Polybios states that Timaios included Ekhekrates' credentials «in order that he not seem to have heard [about Lokris] from just anyone», perhaps trying to hint that this background check too was merely part of the 'show' of accuracy Timaios engaged in<sup>43</sup>. But, if we step outside the Polybian framework for a moment, this episode reveals Timaios making efforts to *find* this source in the first place, rather than relying on what he read in previous authors or heard passed down in old legends. Polybios leaves this unsaid, but we need not allow his silence to prevent us from drawing that conclusion.

Undaunted, Polybios forges on with his attack, next giving an example of Timaios' chronological accuracy<sup>44</sup>.

ὁ γὰρ τὰς συγκρίσεις ποιούμενος ἀνέκαθεν τῶν ἐφόρων πρὸς τοὺς βασιλεῖς τοὺς ἐν Λακεδαιμόνι καὶ τοὺς ἄρχοντας τοὺς Ἀθηναίους καὶ τὰς ἱερείας τὰς ἐν Ἀργεῖ, παραβάλλων πρὸς τοὺς

<sup>42</sup> Some verb has fallen out of the text here: see the app. crit. in PÉDECH, *Polybe*, ad loc.

<sup>43</sup> XII 10.8: ἵνα μὴ φανῇ τοῦ τυχόντος ἀκηκόως. The reference here to τοῦ τυχόντος, «chance information» or «casual gossip», recalls the Suda's statement that Timaios was nicknamed «Gossip-Monger» on account of his recording τὰ τυχόντα(τι).

<sup>44</sup> On the punctuation of the first sentence, see *HCP* II, p. 347-348.



ὀλυμπιονίκας, καὶ τὰς ἁμαρτίας τῶν πόλεων περὶ τὰς ἀναγραφὰς τὰς τούτων ἐξελέγγων, παρὰ τρίμηνον ἐχούσας τὸ διαφέρον, οὗτός ἐστι. καὶ μὴν ὁ τὰς ὀπισθοδόμους στήλας καὶ τὰς ἐν ταῖς φλιαῖς τῶν νεῶν προξενίας ἐξευρηκὼς Τίμαιός ἐστιν.

For this is the man who compares from the beginning the lists of ephors with those of the kings in Lakedaimon and those of the archons at Athens and those of the priestesses at Argos, sets these alongside the lists of Olympic victors, and censures the errors of cities in their records when they show a discrepancy of three months. Indeed, Timaios is the man who discovered stelai in the back rooms of temples and lists of *proxenoi* on the doorjambs. (XII 11.1-2)

In other words, Polybios tries to argue that Timaios was so diligent in investigative matters and in citing evidence that in this *one* case (Lokris) where he omitted to relay such information to his reader, he was deliberately lying. Perhaps he was; and it is important to note that the theme Polybios stresses in this section is the difference between deliberate falsehood and mistakes from ignorance. But in clutching at this single straw he has lost his grip on the whole bundle, and he ends up providing valuable information regarding Timaios' concern for documentary evidence.

Later in Book XII, Polybios basically admits as much<sup>45</sup>. After a long section on the childish and pedantic nature of the speeches in Timaios' work, Polybios states that he will now give the reason for all Timaios' errors: while he was painstaking and thorough in his investigation of written records — here including the works of previous historians — he paid no attention to the interviewing of witnesses and personal autopsy (XII 27.1-3). As we saw earlier, this is the heart of Polybios' problem with Timaios, his *bibliake hexis*, bookish nature or, more loosely, 'arm-chair history'. In this last section of Book XII, Polybios stresses the necessity for the historian to be a man of experience, to have participated in events or to interview men who did, rather than spend one's time in the library and rely on books<sup>46</sup>.

But Polybios' argument has many holes. He himself has said that Timaios made personal inquiries regarding the foundation of Italian Lokris. He himself has told us that Timaios had knowledge of a Roman ritual, and he does not criticize Timaios for obtaining it from books or old legends. Later, he reports Timaios' claim that he had gone to «great

<sup>45</sup> K. MEISTER, *Historische Kritik* (n. 3), p. 54.

<sup>46</sup> Cf. esp. XII 28.3-7.

expense and trouble» to collect information on Ligurians, Celts, and other tribes. Polybios claims that this meant «sitting in town» compiling notes rather than personally visiting those regions; but the tenor of Timaios' comment (τηλικάύτην δαπάνην καὶ κακοπάθειαν) would seem to indicate some sort of travel, or at least attempts to gather information from various sources<sup>47</sup>. Whether we take this as a reference to travel or not, it shows that Timaios did not see history as being written solely from books. Polybios has also reported that Timaios went around to temples looking for inscriptions. While this does reveal a focus on written documents, it is possible, if not likely, that Timaios would have taken such opportunities to speak to the locals (in the manner of Herodotos), as he did at Lokris. Whatever else it may be, such investigative work is certainly not 'armchair history'. Thus, through his own statements on Timaios' reputation for accuracy, Polybios convicts himself of misrepresenting his predecessor's approach to writing history.

At least half of Timaios' *Histories* covered events of his or his father's generation<sup>48</sup>. However, Polybios portrays Timaios as interested much more in mythology, legends, and colonial foundations than contemporary political and military history (XII 26d.2-4), producing a misleading emphasis on the early part of his work. Polybios further distorts our view of Timaios by displacing passages from the contemporary narrative portion of the latter's work to the early, 'mythological' section, as I hope to show with my next example. We have already seen how he begins Book XII with criticism of Timaios' description of African flora and fauna. A passage preserved by Athenaios (XIV 651d-f) indicates that Polybios most likely was responding specifically to Timaios' description of the lotus plant<sup>49</sup>. It may be that Timaios included this information somewhere in his early books, as part of a geographical excursus on the Western Mediterranean. But I believe it is more likely that the passage

<sup>47</sup> XII 28a.3-4. Compare the statements of Dionysios of Halikarnassos (*Pomp.* 6 = *FGrHist* 115 F26) regarding Theopompos, who «incurred heavy expenses in the collection of material» (trans. M. FLOWER, *Theopompus of Chios: History and Rhetoric in the Fourth Century B.C.*, Oxford 1994, p. 18).

<sup>48</sup> Book number attributions are often unreliable, but since Diodoros (XIII 81ff. = *FGrHist* 566 F26) attributes a long passage on the fall of Akragas in 406 to Book XV, we can safely assume that Timaios' narrative reached the fourth century at least by his nineteenth book. Other potential signposts are references to Dionysios II in Book XXII (Athen. VI 250a-d = *FGrHist* 566 F32) and Timoleon in Book XXI (Polyb. XII 25.7 and 26a.1-4). See *Komm.* p. 539-546.

<sup>49</sup> *HCP* II, p. 319; PÉDECH, *Polybe*, p. 59.

appeared instead as part of his narrative of contemporary Greek history, for there is other evidence that in Timaios' day the lotus was particularly connected with a recent event.

Theophrastos describes the lotus in the fourth book of his *Research on Plants* and includes the following notice<sup>50</sup>:

Πολὺ δὲ τὸ δένδρον καὶ πολύκαρπον· τὸ γοῦν Ὀφέλλου στρατόπεδον, ἥνίκα ἐβάδιζεν εἰς Καρχηδόνα, καὶ τούτῳ τραφῆναί φασι πλείους ἡμέρας, ἐπιλιπόντων τῶν ἐπιτηδείων.

The tree is common and bears much fruit; indeed, they say that the army of Ophellas, on its march to Carthage, even lived on this for several days when its provisions ran out. (IV 3.2, Budé text)

The incident to which Theophrastos refers took place in the fall of 308. Ophellas had ruled in Cyrene since 322, when Ptolemy had placed him in control there. The ancient sources tell us very little about him until 309, when he had the misfortune to receive an offer of alliance from Agathokles<sup>51</sup>. The latter, besieged in Syracuse by the Carthaginians, had managed to escape with his mercenary army and land in Africa, hoping to shift the theater of action to the enemy's home territory. In an effort to bolster his chances and increase the pressure on Carthage, Agathokles asked for Ophellas' assistance. According to the account in Diodoros (XX 40.2-4), the two rulers agreed that Ophellas would rule over Africa while Agathokles would keep Sicily, looking toward the Italian mainland if he wished to expand his realm.

Ophellas gathered a mercenary army of about ten thousand, including mainland Greeks who saw an opportunity for plunder and perhaps a chance to start a new life, free from the conflicts between Macedonian generals that had disturbed Greece for the last fifteen years. Indeed, according to Diodoros the campaign took on the air of a colonizing

<sup>50</sup> The plant Theophrastos describes is not actually the lotus: he (or his source of information) appears to have confused some type of tree (*celtis australis*) with the lotus plant, which Polybios correctly describes in the passage cited by Athenaios (see F.W. WALBANK, *Three Notes* [n. 6], p. 208-211 and *HCP* II, p. 319 for the botanical details.). Indeed, Polybios seems to be responding to a mistaken identification such as Theophrastos provides, since he begins by noting ἔστι δὲ τὸ δένδρον ὃ λωτὸς οὐ μέγα, «(but) the lotus is not a large tree» (XII 2.2). We cannot be positive that Timaios' account was the same as that of Theophrastos, but since Polybios' correction appears in Book XII, and he criticizes Timaios' general description of African flora and fauna, this seems likely to have been the case.

<sup>51</sup> Our sources for the episode are Diodoros XX 40-42 and Justin XXII 7.4-6.

expedition, as men brought their women and children with them. But the march along the African littoral to Carthage proved longer and harsher than Ophellas and his mercenaries had planned for. Diodoros makes no mention of the lotus, but he states that the army's food and water supplies ran out before they arrived at their destination; ubiquitous poisonous snakes compounded the hardship, camouflaged in the sand and thus only noticed too late by those marching. When the army finally did arrive before Carthage, after an initial display of friendship, Agathokles had Ophellas murdered and persuaded the mercenaries to join his own army.

Diodoros' account may or may not come directly from Timaios, but we can be certain that the latter would have covered Ophellas' march: it was part of a Carthaginian war against the Greeks in Sicily, and it was a major event in the career of Agathokles, the subject of Timaios' final five books<sup>52</sup>. In addition, Timaios may have held a more immediate connection to the event, one which bears great relevance when considering his source of information for the campaign and for his description of the lotus. Diodoros records that Ophellas, after agreeing to the alliance with Agathokles, sent envoys to the Athenians requesting that they join the expedition as well. One possible reason was that Ophellas had married an Athenian woman: Euthydike, daughter of Miltiades. Although there is no evidence for a formal alliance, Diodoros states that many Athenians responded to the call for mercenaries, along with a large number of other Greeks (XX 40.5-6).

On any reckoning of his career, Timaios was already in Athens in 308, having been exiled from Sicily by Agathokles — the very man whom this call for allies would eventually benefit<sup>53</sup>. We cannot know for certain how Timaios felt about Ophellas' campaign. But he could hardly have rooted for the success of any venture involving Agathokles. In any case, when reports later reached Athens about the hardships of the march and the unfortunate end of Ophellas, Timaios (like Theophrastos) would have been there to hear them. Although he may not have started writing his history at this point, Timaios would have used these reports (either

<sup>52</sup> Douris has often been credited as Diodoros' source on the basis of the Lamia story (FGrHist 76 F17): HCP II, p. 319; but see H. BERVE, *Die Herrschaft des Agathokles*, SBAW 5 (1952), p. 5, 9-10. K. MEISTER, *Die sizilische Geschichte bei Diodor von den Anfängen bis zum Tod des Agathokles*, Diss. Munich 1967, p. 151-152, is more inclined to see Timaios as the source.

<sup>53</sup> K. MEISTER, *Das Exil des Timaios von Tauromenion*, Kokalos 16 (1970), p. 53-59; Komm. p. 530-531; cf. T.S. BROWN, *Timaeus* (n. 8), p. 2-6.

via memory or notes taken at the time) to construct his narrative of events. Most likely he stressed the long march through desert terrain on which Ophellas and his mercenaries embarked, either to emphasize the foolishness of the venture — especially to do so in order to help Agathokles — or perhaps to imply that Agathokles somehow misled Ophellas or promised aid that did not appear. Perhaps he even made a comparison with the Athenian expedition to Sicily during the Peloponnesian War, a foolish adventure for which the participants were unprepared and ill-educated<sup>54</sup>.

It is not necessary to conclude that Timaios correctly described Africa and that Polybios simply lied or failed to mention it. Timaios may very well have been «attached to the ancient legends» and described the whole of Africa as desolate and unproductive. But given the evidence above, there remains a strong possibility that a description in such terms was tied to a specific event — Ophellas' march to Carthage — and possibly, therefore, to a specific region — the desert wastes between Carthage and Cyrene. In fact, we know that Timaios was fully aware of populated and productive areas in Africa, again from evidence that Polybios himself provides in Book XII. Polybios pours great scorn on the speeches Timaios gave to his historical actors, describing them as childish, foolish, and more appropriate to school-boy exercises than serious history<sup>55</sup>. As an example, he quotes the beginning of a speech Timaios had Timoleon deliver to his troops before a battle in which they appeared to be vastly outnumbered by the Carthaginians. Timoleon begins by telling his men that, even though Libya is «thickly populated and full of men», when Greeks wish to convey the idea of solitude, they often use the proverbial phrase «more desert than Libya» — referring not to the physical desert, however, but to the cowardice of the inhabitants<sup>56</sup>. So in Timaios' day, the phrase «more desert than Libya» was

<sup>54</sup> Cf. A. MOMIGLIANO, *art. cit.* (n. 8), p. 52: «One would like to know what Timaeus thought of the Athenians who placed their trust in Agathocles at this time. We may even be tempted to imagine that the episode had some connection with Timaeus' decision to devote his life to a history which would enlighten the ill-informed on the realities of Carthage and Syracuse».

<sup>55</sup> XII 25k.8-9, 26.9, 26b.5.

<sup>56</sup> XII 26a.2: καὶ γὰρ τῆς Λιβύης ἀπάσης συνεχῶς οἰκουμένης καὶ πληθυούσης ἀνθρώπων, ὁμῶς ἐν ταῖς παροιμίαις, ὅταν περὶ ἐρημίας ἔμφασιν βουλόμεθα ποιῆσαι, λέγειν ἡμᾶς ἐρημότερα τῆς Λιβύης, οὐκ ἐπὶ τὴν ἐρημίαν φέροντας τὸν λόγον, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τὴν ἀνανδρίαν τῶν κατοικούντων. As Walbank notes (*HCP* II, p. 403), this «hardly fits Timaeus' own picture of Libya».

proverbial, perhaps even a specifically Siceliote phrase. Sicilian Greeks knew that Africa was highly populated, as they had been facing large armies from the region for almost two centuries. But one of the areas nearest to Sicily, the coast stretching between Carthage and Cyrene, was in fact desert, as the experience of Ophellas and his army indicates<sup>57</sup>.

This strengthens the possibility that Timaios' account of Africa as described by Polybios was region-specific<sup>58</sup>. In other words, Timaios could have offered an accurate account of Africa as a whole, either in connection with a geographical description of the Western Mediterranean, or in connection with the visit of the Argonauts<sup>59</sup>. But then, in his narrative of the events of 309/8, he described in detail the horrors of an expedition of tens of thousands, including women and children, running out of food in the desert and forced to rely on a wild plant, the lotus, for survival. It would then be this latter account on which Polybios chooses to focus. By presenting this as Timaios' entire description of Africa, Polybios tries to portray him as uninformed and careless in his selection of reports. Perhaps Timaios did not visit Africa himself, and thus Polybios' criticism of a lack of personal autopsy would hold true. But, as we have seen, this does not mean Timaios had to rely on ancient legends; eyewitness reports certainly would have reached Athens at some point soon after the event<sup>60</sup>. To reconstruct this process, however, we must go beyond Polybios' criticism of Timaios.

So far, we have seen Polybios distorting our image of Timaios by exaggerating the significance of one episode (Italian Lokris) or by making one portion of the work representative of the whole (description of Africa). The next example also involves this type of selective omission, but in a more subtle fashion, as it affects our view of Timaios' entire

<sup>57</sup> Cf. Diodoros XIII 81.5, included by Jacoby as part of F26a, where Diodoros writes (in the context of 406/5), «Since at that time Libya had not yet come under cultivation ...». If this does indeed come from Timaios, it would indicate his awareness that Libya, in his own day, was productive land. But we cannot be certain of Diodoros' source here, although Timaios is the most likely candidate.

<sup>58</sup> Similarly, C. CLASEN, *Historisch-kritische Untersuchungen über Timaios von Tauromenion*, Kiel 1883, p. 13, suggests that the description cited by Polybios occurred in connection with Agathokles' campaign against Carthage. Cf. T.S. BROWN, *Timaeus* (n. 8), p. 24: Polybios «has conveniently confused the part with the whole — unfair, but not literally mendacious». I would not conclude, however, as Brown does, that Timaios did not include a general description of Africa as a whole.

<sup>59</sup> Diodoros IV 56.3-6 = *FGrHist* 566 F85.

<sup>60</sup> Cf. C. HABICHT, *Athens from Alexander to Antony*, trans. D.L. Schneider, Cambridge (MA) 1997, p. 65 n. 81.

historical method. The last item of Polybios' criticism of Timaios preserved in the first section of Book XII (on his errors concerning Western Mediterranean geography) involves Sicily itself, Timaios' homeland. Polybios seeks conclusive evidence of his predecessor's untrustworthiness in the fact that he proves to be «ignorant and far wide of the truth» not just on Sicilian locales, but on the most famous among them<sup>61</sup>. As an example, Polybios chooses the legend of the Arethousa fountain at Syracuse. This freshwater spring is found on the western side of the offshore island of Ortygia, right next to the salt water of the Great Harbor, and its presence there had given rise to a legend concerning its source. Timaios, Polybios writes,

φησὶ τοιγαροῦν τὴν Ἀρέθουσαν κρήνην τὴν ἐν ταῖς Συρακούσαις ἔχειν τὰς πηγὰς ἐκ τοῦ κατὰ Πελοπόννησον διὰ τε τῆς Ἀρκαδίας καὶ διὰ τῆς Ὀλυμπίας ῥέοντος ποταμοῦ Ἀλφειοῦ· ἐκείνον γὰρ δύντα κατὰ γῆς <καὶ> τετρακισχιλίους σταδίους ὑπὸ τὸ Σικελικὸν ἐνεχθέντα πέλαγος ἀναδύνειν ἐν ταῖς Συρακούσαις, γενέσθαι δὲ τοῦτο δῆλον ἐκ τοῦ κατὰ τινα χρόνον οὐρανίων ὄμβρων ῥαγέντων κατὰ τὸν τῶν Ὀλυμπίων καιρὸν καὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ τοὺς κατὰ τὸ τέμενος ἐπικλύσαντος τόπους, ὄνθου τε πλῆθος ἀναβλύζειν τὴν Ἀρέθουσαν ἐκ τῶν κατὰ τὴν πανήγυριν θυομένων βοῶν καὶ φιάλην χρυσὴν ἀναβαλεῖν ἣν ἐπιγόντες εἶναι τῆς ἐορτῆς ἀνείλοντο.

tells us that the Arethousa fountain in Syracuse has its source in the Alpheios River in the Peloponnese, which flows through Arkadia and Olympia. For, he says, that river, sinking into the earth and traversing four thousand stades under the Sicilian Sea, rises to the surface at Syracuse. This is made clear, he says, by the fact that, once, when heavy rains had fallen at the time of the Olympic games and the river had flooded the area of the sanctuary, Arethousa gushed up full of dung from the cattle sacrificed at the celebration and brought up a golden cup which they recognized as coming from the festival and carried away. (XII 4d.5-8)

Whether Polybios offered a specific comment on this story we do not know, since the preserved extract ends at the point quoted above. It is possible that he chastised Timaios for his naïve credulity, or expounded on the scientific impossibility of the story, or put forward some other evidence that the Alpheios did indeed flow into the sea and not underground (Strabo, in fact, adduces both of the last two points). But in the

<sup>61</sup> XII 4d.4: ἐὰν ἐν οἷς ἔφω καὶ ἐτράφη τόποις καὶ τούτων ἐν τοῖς ἐπιφανεστάτοις, ἐν τούτοις ἀγνοῶν εὑρεθῇ καὶ παραπαίων τῆς ἀληθείας ...



passage preserved by the excerptor, at least, Polybios states that Timaios offered the details of the dung-filled water and the golden cup as *proof* of the story's veracity: (φησὶ)... γενέσθαι δὲ τοῦτο δῆλον ἐκ τοῦ ..., «he says... that this is clear from the fact that...». In other words, Polybios gives the distinct impression that Timaios *believed* the story he related and was, therefore, foolishly attached to old legends, just as with his description of Africa. But can we be sure that Timaios actually stated his own trust in these 'proofs'?

We know that Timaios did not invent this story, nor was he the first to report it. The tradition that Arethousa had its source in the Peloponnese is found in Pindar, at the beginning of *Nemean* 1: ἄμπνευμα σεμνὸν Ἀλφειοῦ / κλεινᾶν Συρακοσσᾶν θάλασσι, Ὀρτυγία, «Holy breathing-place of Alpheios / Child of famous Syracuse, Ortygia» (*Nem.* 1.1-2). The story of the golden bowl washing up in the fountain goes back even further, to the poet Ibykos in the mid-sixth century<sup>62</sup>. The allure of the story is clear and the timing of its appearance not surprising. Pindar's poetry shows how active the elite among the Western Greeks were in the Panhellenic festivals during the early fifth century. Olympia especially, being the closest of these sites, provided great opportunity to win glory at home and to spread one's name abroad<sup>63</sup>. Pindar also shows the importance of Greek mythology in the self-fashioning of the Western Greek elite. The myth of the source of Arethousa forged a direct link — literally — between the leading city of Sicily and the Panhellenic sanctuary honoring the chief god of the Greek pantheon<sup>64</sup>. Thus by Timaios' day the legend was already an ancient one, and presumably held great importance for Syracusan identity. The 'proofs' found in Ibykos and Timaios served to reinforce the 'truth' of the story<sup>65</sup>.

Without the original context of Timaios' report concerning Arethousa, we will never know for certain what attitude he took toward the legend. It is difficult to believe that he accepted the tale as literally true, or that he meant his readers to do so, yet this is what Polybios would have us think<sup>66</sup>. Is it not more likely that Timaios presented the inhabitants of

<sup>62</sup> PMG 323 = schol. Theokritos I 117 (Wendel p. 67a).

<sup>63</sup> S. HORNBLLOWER, *Thucydides and Pindar: Historical Narrative and the World of Epinikian Poetry*, Oxford 2004, p. 186-201, 262-266.

<sup>64</sup> On the 'direct' link, see D. FEENEY, *Caesar's Calendar* (n. 8), p. 232 n. 22.

<sup>65</sup> The story appears later in the *Historia Mirabilium* (140) attributed to Antigonos of Karystos and in Strabo (VI 2.4), both of whom reference Pindar and Timaios.

<sup>66</sup> Cf. T.S. BROWN, *Timaeus* (n. 8), p. 30, who properly concludes, «Our judgment is hampered by not knowing the context, and Timaeus is entitled to the benefit of a doubt».

Syracuse as arguing that it was true? Consider another ancient historian accused of believing improbable stories, but who more often than not was simply reporting what he was told. What sort of opinion would we have of Herodotos if all that remained of his work, beyond scattered references, was Plutarch's polemical treatise on his *kakoetheia*?<sup>67</sup> In his very first example of Herodotos' malice toward the Greeks, Plutarch gives the impression that Herodotos accepted the Phoenician version of the rape of Io and at the same time accuses Herodotos of falsely attributing that version to them<sup>68</sup>. Without Herodotos' complete work, we would never know that in the very next sentence he wrote, «On these matters I will not get into saying that they happened in this way or some other...»<sup>69</sup>. Nor would we know that this listing of variant stories was one of the key features of his work and that Herodotos explicitly warns his readers on several occasions that he simply reports what he is told, without judging it himself<sup>70</sup>. If we lacked his full work, that is, we would largely have Plutarch's Herodotos: a deliberate liar, hating all Greeks, inventing base motives and spreading malicious rumors, a man whose main purpose was to drag all good reputations through the mud<sup>71</sup>. Polybios' Timaios differs little.

For Polybios, the legend of the source of Arethousa proves that Timaios cannot be trusted on anything, since he was mistaken about his own homeland. For us, on the other hand — removed from the polemical environment of Hellenistic historiography — it offers a glimpse of a side of Timaios obscured by the loss of his work and the obsessions of his excerptors. In the story of Arethousa, in the report of the Roman ritual of the October Horse, even in the debate over the origins of Italian Lokris, we may discover a strain of Herodotean-style inquiry in the Siceliote historian: an impulse to report what he was told, either first-hand or through intermediaries, and an interest in people's beliefs about the past,

<sup>67</sup> On Plutarch's treatise, see D. LENFANT, *Peut-on se fier aux 'fragments' d'historiens? L'exemple des citations d'Hérodote*, *Ktéma* 22 (1999), p. 103-123; and for a fuller treatment of the use of Herodotos by later authors, see now ID., *Les «Fragments» d'Hérodote dans les Deipnosophistes*, in: D. LENFANT (ed.), *Athénée et les fragments des historiens. Actes du colloque de Strasbourg (16-18 juin 2005)*, Paris 2007, p. 43-72.

<sup>68</sup> Plutarch, *De mal. Her.* 11 (*Mor.* 856e).

<sup>69</sup> I 5.3: ἐγὼ δὲ περὶ μὲν τούτων οὐκ ἔρχομαι ἐρέων ὡς οὕτως ἢ ἄλλως κῶς ταῦτα ἐγένετο ...

<sup>70</sup> E.g., II 123.1, VII 152.3.

<sup>71</sup> P.A. BRUNT, *On Historical Fragments and Epitomes*, *CQ* 30 (1980), p. 477-494, at p. 479-480.

whether he shared those beliefs or not. But Timaios was not strictly and simply a Herodotos of the West, for there is an important difference. While Timaios was interested in reporting these beliefs, he also showed a much greater concern for resolving debates, answering questions, and engaging his predecessors by name (often in abusive terms) in order to prove them wrong. This difference from Herodotos, in my opinion, forms one of the interesting features of the development of Greek historiography in the Hellenistic period, one that Polybios' malicious portrayal of Timaios overshadows<sup>72</sup>.

#### TIMAIOS OUTSIDE BOOK XII

When we examine the attitude Polybios takes toward Timaios outside the polemical context of Book XII, intriguing results emerge. In the introduction to his *Histories*, Polybios announces that he will begin with the 140th Olympiad (220-216), for it is at this time that history became an organic whole (σοματωειδῆ) and the events of Italy and Africa became interwoven (συμπλέκεσθαι) with those of Asia and Greece (I 3.4). He also notes that his history thus joins up with that of the Akhaian statesman Aratos, whose work ended at this point (I 3.2). But shortly thereafter Polybios explains that his first two books will actually cover events *before* his proposed starting date, in order to explain with what resources, armies, and constitutions the Romans and Carthaginians began their struggle, the winner of which would then be able to attempt mastery of the whole world (I 3.7-9). This two-book προκατασκευῆ as Polybios calls it, an «introductory section» (I 3.10), then receives its own introduction beginning at 1.5<sup>73</sup>. There, Polybios states that his starting date will be the 129th Olympiad (264-260), in which the Romans first crossed over to Sicily; in addition, this joins up with Timaios' history, since he left off at this point (I 5.1).

<sup>72</sup> O. MURRAY, *Herodotus and Hellenistic Culture*, CQ 22 (1972), p. 200-213, at p. 210 and A. MOMIGLIANO, *art. cit.* (n. 8), p. 56 note Herodotean elements in the surviving fragments of Timaios' work, and both refer to the Siceliote historian as the «Herodotus of the West». Cf. T.S. BROWN, *Timaeus* (n. 8), p. 106, concluding that Timaios possessed «a Herodotean curiosity» about the past.

<sup>73</sup> Polybios uses the term numerous times to refer to the first two books: see HCP I, p. 44.

Thus already within the first five chapters of his work, Polybios links himself to two forerunners. Continuation was a tool with which the historian emphasized his own subject but also placed himself in a certain tradition<sup>74</sup>. This need not involve sharing a predecessor's political beliefs or historiographical methods, as is clear from Xenophon's continuation of Thucydides. Rather, it showed an expectation that one's work would be compared to a previous author, in the hope that one's own history would either replace his or join it as definitive. As Marincola describes the procedure, «Both aspiration and emulation, linking one's work to a predecessor's is a way of making a claim, without overt advertisement of one's own abilities»<sup>75</sup>. In this way, it is a more subtle form of polemic: paying heed to a predecessor while placing oneself above him.

Polybios emphasizes throughout the early books that his own history begins in 220, and Aratos is the first predecessor mentioned<sup>76</sup>. But in some respects the link with Timaios is more important for Polybios. Although he stresses that his own work is one of universal history, comprised of events occurring throughout the entire world, Rome clearly occupies a central position. It is the need to explain the incredibly rapid rise of Rome to world domination that drives him to write (I 1.5); it is Rome that brings about the 'interweaving' of world events (V 101.3, 104); and it is, in part at least, a Roman audience that will read his work (VI 11; XXXI 22.8-11). Polybios must link himself with Timaios, then, because the latter was the Greek historian *par excellence* for the Romans<sup>77</sup>. Timaios was one of the first to treat the Romans' ancient history — only Hieronymos of Kardia had done so before him, and Timaios'

<sup>74</sup> J. MARINCOLA, *Authority and Tradition* (n. 7), p. 237-246 and Appendix VI. For the general topic see L. CANFORA, *Il 'ciclo' storico*, in: ID., *La storiografia greca*, Milan 1999, p. 61-91.

<sup>75</sup> J. MARINCOLA, *Authority and Tradition* (n. 7), p. 241.

<sup>76</sup> I 3.8, I 13.7-8, II 37.2, II 71.7, III 1.1-3, IV 1.9; F.W. WALBANK, *Polybios* (n. 5), p. 79.

<sup>77</sup> J. MARINCOLA, *Authority and Tradition* (n. 7), p. 239; K. MEISTER, *Historische Kritik* (n. 3), p. 51-52; F.W. WALBANK, *Polemic in Polybios* (n. 7), p. 10 and *The Two-Way Shadow* (n. 13), p. 13; A. MOMIGLIANO, *art. cit.* (n. 8), p. 56-58. *Contra* G.A. LEHMANN, *art. cit.* (n. 7), p. 160-161, who argues that there could be no rivalry between the two authors since their subjects were different; similarly PÉDECH, *Polybe*, p. xxvii, dismisses such a rivalry due to the interval of about one hundred years between their times of writing and «their treatment of completely different subjects». But this ignores the numerous other factors involved in polemic amongst the ancient historians, as well as the evidence of Book XII itself: why would Polybios spend an entire book criticizing Timaios if he did not view him as a potential challenger?

focus on the Western Mediterranean presumably had more appeal than Hieronymos' narrative of the successors of Alexander<sup>78</sup>. And it is clear from Polybios' own statements in Book XII that Timaios did indeed have his admirers and defenders, against whom Polybios argued in vain<sup>79</sup>. It is significant that in the epilogue to the entire work, when Polybios reviews what he has covered, it is not Aratos whom he mentions as his predecessor, but Timaios (XXXIX 8.4). So, despite his attempt in Book XII to destroy Timaios' reputation, at the opening and closing of his work Polybios links himself to him without comment. Of course, as noted above, «continuation of a predecessor does not necessarily entail allegiance to his historiographical principles»<sup>80</sup>. Nor does Polybios' criticism of an author preclude him from using that author as a source<sup>81</sup>. But what I am emphasizing is that the striking contrast between Polybios' attitude toward Timaios in the rest of the work as compared to Book XII should make us wary of taking the latter at face value<sup>82</sup>.

It is somewhat surprising to find no reference to Timaios in the course of Polybios' treatment of events in Italy and Sicily before 264 (I 6-12). Polybios has stated that he will only sketch briefly (ψιλλῶς) the cause of the First Punic War, since a firm starting point must be found somewhere if one is to avoid following causes of causes back indefinitely. He begins his sketch at the Gallic sack of Rome in 386, tracing, in just six sentences, the Roman conquest of Italy down to their siege of the renegade Romans who seized Rhegium in emulation of the Mamertines at Messana. Polybios then backtracks slightly to describe the Mamertine situation (one chapter) and the rise to power of Hieron II at Syracuse

<sup>78</sup> Dion. Hal., *Ant. Rom.* I 6.1 = FGrHist 566 T9b; J. HORNBLLOWER, *Hieronymus of Cardia*, Oxford 1981, p. 249-250.

<sup>79</sup> XII 25c.1; cf. 26d.1-6, 28.6.

<sup>80</sup> J. MARINCOLA, *Authority and Tradition* (n. 7), p. 240 n. 122.

<sup>81</sup> HCP I, p. 28: Polybios definitely used Kallisthenes and Ephoros; probably Timaios, Phylarchos, Zenon, Philinos, and Fabius. See F.W. WALBANK, *Polybius* (n. 5), p. 79 for further references.

<sup>82</sup> F.W. WALBANK, *Three Notes* (n. 6), p. 207 attributes the difference in tone between passages such as VIII 10.12, XV 35.2 on the one hand (see below) and Book XII on the other to the different times at which the books were written: the former, before 150; the latter, after 146 and Polybios' journeys in the West and Africa. He argues that Polybios' «virulence and bitterness against Timaeus springs from a combination of causes, which taken together made him a deadly competitor. ... This attitude is unlikely to have crystallized until after Polybios's journeys in the west». Cf. ID., *Polemic in Polybius* (n. 7), p. 10-12. See C.B. CHAMPION, *Cultural Politics in Polybius's Histories*, Berkeley and Los Angeles 2004, p. 9-12 for comments on the limitations of such a historical-compositional approach (which he avoids).

(two chapters). A little more than two chapters suffice to narrate the debate at Rome concerning the war, Appius Claudius' crossing of the Straits, and his victories over the Syracusan and Carthaginian forces besieging him. The rest of chapter 12 consists of Polybios' explanation of the necessity of the foregoing sketch.

Much of this covers ground which Timaios had probably treated in the *Pyrrhos*. In addition, the synchronism of events at the beginning of the section — the Gallic sack, the peace of Antalkidas, and the siege of Rhegion by Dionysios I — has led many scholars to suggest a Western Greek historian as the source of this summary, with Timaios the most likely candidate<sup>83</sup>. Unfortunately, due to the paucity of Roman-related fragments, we can only guess at the detail with which Timaios discussed this period. Only one fragment is specifically attested as deriving from his work on Pyrrhos, and only three others can be definitely linked to Rome<sup>84</sup>. The only indications that the work went beyond Pyrrhos' death in 272 (or even his activities in the West) are Polybios' two statements concerning its end-point (I 5.1 and XXXIX 8.4). Can we be sure Timaios went into any detail for the years 272-264?<sup>85</sup> When Polybios says Timaios stopped at the first crossing to Sicily, what specific event does he mean to indicate — the Roman decision to go to war? The actual crossing by Appius? The Syracusan defeat and Hieron's change of allegiance? Without further evidence, any answer to these questions must remain speculative<sup>86</sup>. If Timaios is indeed the source here, it is interesting that he is not named, since later (I 14), in explaining his decision to treat the First Punic War in some detail, Polybios states that one motive for doing so was the inadequate treatment it had received from Philinos and Fabius Pictor. So we might ask, why no polemic against Timaios at I 12, where Polybios explains why he has gone back before 264? The most likely answer is that Polybios does not want to get too far off track. He views this material as background to be gone through quickly,

<sup>83</sup> D. FEENEY, *Caesar's Calendar* (n. 8), p. 47-48; *Komm.* p. 530; *HCP* I, p. 47.

<sup>84</sup> Polybios XII 4b = *FGrHist* 566 F36; the others are FF 59-61.

<sup>85</sup> R. LAQUEUR, *Timaioi*, *RE* VIA.1, col. 1081-1082, argued that 264 makes a great beginning but an odd ending point. However, Dionysios of Halikarnassos concluded his work at the same point, as did A. HOLM in his *Geschichte der Sizilien* (1874); perhaps Tim Cornell, too, would disagree with Laqueur's statement.

<sup>86</sup> See V. LA BUA, *Due note su Timeo*, *Miscellanea Greca e Romana* 9 (1984), p. 89-103, at p. 89-92 for discussion, although his reconstructions are based on source criticism rather than actual evidence from Timaios' work.

its purpose to give the reader a rough impression of the state of affairs in Sicily in 264. Nevertheless, it is likely that a Roman audience, at least, would associate an account of this period with Timaios, whether Polybios is drawing on him or not.

Thus Timaios' absence in this section is inconclusive as regards Polybios' attitude toward him. But other passages indicate that, despite the evidence of Book XII, Polybios does not consider Timaios such a poor historian that he cannot agree with his interpretation of a historical figure or use him as evidence. At II 16, Polybios embarks on a description of the Po River region (Cisalpine Gaul), and he finishes his discussion of the river itself by noting that he will not get into the various legends the Greeks recount in connection with it, especially that of Phaethon falling to earth in the area. But he promises to return to the topic at a suitable moment, «especially because of the ignorance of Timaios on this region»<sup>87</sup>. This is indeed a negative judgment on Timaios, and we have already seen that his supposed ignorance, especially of geography, is one of the key components of Polybios' critique in Book XII. But it should also be noted that errors concerning geography are one area in which Polybios states that it is necessary to pardon earlier authors, since it is only in his own lifetime that the expansion of the Roman empire has made accessible new parts of the world for which previous writers could not hope to gain accurate information (III 58.2-59.8). Since we do not know where (or even if) Polybios returns to Timaios' description of the Po, we cannot say what form his critique takes. But the possibility remains open that, on this issue at least, Timaios receives a mild rebuke rather than harsh censure.

The other points outside of Book XII at which Timaios appears in Polybios' text occur in conjunction with Agathokles, and they offer a slightly different viewpoint of Timaios' treatment of the tyrant. In Book XV, while discussing the proper subject for serious history, Polybios writes that «Agathokles, as Timaios mocking him says, starting as a potter and leaving behind the wheel and the clay and the smoke, came as a young man to Syracuse»<sup>88</sup>. Walbank claims that Polybios here «condemns

<sup>87</sup> II 16.13-15 = *FGrHist* 566 F68: μεταλαβόντες δὲ καιρὸν ἀρμόττοντα ποιησόμεθα τὴν καθήκουσαν μνήμην, καὶ μάλιστα διὰ τὴν Τιμαίου περὶ τοὺς προειρημένους τόπους ἄγνοιαν.

<sup>88</sup> XV 35.2 = *FGrHist* 566 F124c: ὁ δ' Ἀγαθοκλῆς, ὡς ὁ Τίμαιος ἐπισκόπων φησί, κεραμεὺς ὑπάρχων καὶ καταλιπὼν τὸν τροχὸν <καὶ τὸν> πηλὸν καὶ τὸν καπνόν, ἦκε νέος ὢν εἰς τὰς Συρακούσας. See R. VATTUONE, *Ricerche su Timeo* (n. 22), p. 13-15.



Timaeus as malicious and one-sided in his concealment of Agathokles' merits and achievements»<sup>89</sup>. But that is not the case, for Polybios, while noting Timaios' mockery, does not at all deny that this account of Agathokles' origins is correct — in fact, his point in the passage is that both Agathokles and Dionysios I rose from humble beginnings to attain great power. Elsewhere, Polybios argues that, contrary to common opinion, obtaining power does not result in a man's true nature being revealed, but rather that men are forced to hide their true character in certain situations and able to reveal it in others. As one example of this, he offers Agathokles: «who does not relate», he asks, that Agathokles the tyrant of Sicily was cruel on his rise to power but mild once there? (IX 23) Timaios is not named here, but we do see that he was not alone in his scathing depiction of the early part of the tyrant's career.

The strongest piece of external evidence for not accepting Polybios' judgment of Timaios at face value occurs in Book VIII. In the course of criticizing Theopompos for his portrayal of Philip, Polybios writes that Philip, Alexander, and the Macedonian generals after them achieved such great feats that, «while the bitterness that Timaios displays against Agathokles the ruler of Sicily, although it may seem overblown, nevertheless holds true — for he lays the accusation against an enemy, an evil man, and a tyrant — that of Theopompos should not even come under consideration»<sup>90</sup>. Polybios clearly states here that Agathokles deserved, if not the abuse that Timaios heaped upon him, then at least a highly negative portrayal. Walbank notes that Polybios' point is to contrast Timaios with Theopompos and Agathokles with the Diadochoi<sup>91</sup>. That is certainly true; but at the same time, he does not issue a warning that Timaios' account should not be trusted, and in fact he states explicitly that Timaios was justified in his bitterness, *πικρία*, against the tyrant — the same thing Polybios criticizes him for at length in Book XII.

In fact, Polybios himself engages in the same types of activities for which he criticizes other authors at length. For example, he chastises Timaios not only for his excessive abuse of other authors and historical

<sup>89</sup> *HCP* II, p. 86.

<sup>90</sup> VIII 10.12 = *FGrHist* 566 F124a: ὥστε τὴν μὲν Τιμαίου τοῦ συγγραφέως πικρίαν, ἣ κέχρηται κατ' Ἀγαθοκλέους τοῦ Σικελίας δυνάστου, καίπερ ἀνυπέμβλητον εἶναι δοκοῦσαν, ὁμῶς λόγον ἔχειν — ὥς γάρ κατ' ἐχθροῦ καὶ πονηροῦ καὶ τυράννου διατίθεται τὴν κατηγορίαν — τὴν δὲ Θεοπόμπου μὴδ' ὑπὸ λόγον πίπτειν.

<sup>91</sup> *HCP* II, p. 86.

figures, but also for excessive praise of Timoleon (XII 23). But Polybios came under fire in the ancient world for the same fault: Posidonios, according to Strabo, accused him of exaggerating Tiberius Gracchus' exploits in Spain in order to curry favor with the Roman<sup>92</sup>. On a larger scale, it could be argued that Timaios' glorification of the events in Sicily and the West — however excessive it might have been — finds its doppelganger in Polybios' attempt to place the activities of the Akhaian League onto the same level as the events in Rome, Italy, and the Hellenistic kingdoms<sup>93</sup>. For a case that does not involve Timaios, we have Polybios' famous diatribe against Phylarchos and that author's so-called «tragic» style of history, which involved describing in detail the lamentations and suffering of women, children, and the elderly at the sack of Mantinea in 223, in an effort to arouse his reader's emotions<sup>94</sup>. However, we find numerous examples of such scenes in Polybios as well. More notable instances include the long narrative of the downfall of Agathokles of Alexandria, regent for Ptolemy V in Egypt, including his wife baring her breasts in dismay (XV 31.13) — one of the specific points for which Polybios scolds Phylarchos; the departure of Carthaginian hostages at the beginning of the third Punic War (XXXVI 5.6-8); and the appearance of Hasdrubal's wife, carrying her children, at the fall of Carthage (XXXVIII 20.7-10)<sup>95</sup>.

## CONCLUSION

One of Polybios' most damning criticisms of Timaios (that is, in Polybios' eyes) is the fact that he spent fifty years in exile in Athens and, therefore, far away from the events which he related. In fact Polybios claims that Timaios himself admitted his inexperience in war and his ignorance concerning geography:

<sup>92</sup> Strabo III 4.13 = *FGrHist* 87 F51 (EDELSTEIN-KIDD F271). For whatever it might be worth, Strabo found the charge plausible.

<sup>93</sup> Cf. J. MARINCOLA, *Greek Historians*, Oxford 2001, p. 126.

<sup>94</sup> II 56.6-12; see J. MARINCOLA, *Beyond Pity and Fear: The Emotions of History*, *AncSoc* 33 (2003), p. 285-315, at p. 299-302.

<sup>95</sup> See F.W. WALBANK, *Polybios* (n. 5), p. 39-40; C.B. CHAMPION, *Cultural Politics* (n. 82), p. 165. Cf. K. SACKS, *Polybios* (n. 4), p. 166-168; K. MEISTER, *Historische Kritik* (n. 3), p. 109-126.

Τίμαιός φησιν ἐν τῇ τριακόστῃ καὶ τετάρτῃ βίβλῳ· πεντήκοντα συνεχῶς ἔτη διατρίψας Ἀθήνησι ξενιτεύων ἀπάσης ὁμολογουμένως ἄπειρος ἐγένετο<sup>96</sup> πολεμικῆς χρείας, ἔτι δὲ καὶ τῆς τῶν τόπων θέας.

Timaios says in his thirty-fourth book, «Having spent fifty continuous years away from home at Athens, he was admittedly inexperienced in all military activity, nor did he have any personal knowledge of places». (XII 25h.1)

This admission supposedly came at the beginning of his account of Agathokles' rule in Sicily (317–289), which formed the final five books of his *Histories*. Clearly, Timaios' long exile is an important prop in the structure of Polybios' polemic: he refers to it earlier as well, at XII 25d.1, where he says that Timaios spent *nearly* (σχεδόν) fifty years in Athens. Polybios uses the point not only to draw attention to his predecessor's shortcomings, but also to launch into a definition of «pragmatic history», his own grand achievement, made more spectacular by contrast with Timaios' failure. Indeed, Timaios frames this discussion of pragmatic history, as Polybios returns to flog his unfortunate victim one more time at XII 25e.7, where he compares him to a man who believes himself an accomplished artist after merely viewing ancient masterpieces.

However, there is a textual problem with this 'quote' from Timaios, due either to the epitomator or Polybios himself. It is introduced by «Timaios says», but the subsequent verb as it appears in the manuscript (ἐγένετο) is in the indicative, not the expected infinitive of indirect discourse<sup>97</sup>. Various solutions have been proposed. Walbank would retain the third person verb, and, unless the epitomator is to blame for the confusion, he finds Jacoby's suggestion the most likely, that Polybios «has twisted a reference by Timaeus to his long exile from his native Sicily

<sup>96</sup> Pédech, after Boissvain: ξενιτεύων καὶ πάσης ὁμολογουμένως ἄπειρος ἐγένετο M: [ἐγένετο] Büttner-Wobst, after Heyse: ἐγενόμην Mai. Jacoby (F34, T19) prints the phrase πεντήκοντα συνεχῶς ἔτη διατρίψας Ἀθήνησι ξενιτεύων as a direct quote (proposed by C. CLASEN, *op. cit.* [n. 58], p. 11) and suggests inserting ὅθεν immediately after.

<sup>97</sup> Thus Walbank, *HCP* ad loc., states that Polybios «is hardly quoting literally» based on this and two other factors: the συνεχῶς here versus the σχεδόν at XII 25d.1; and the presence of the ὁμολογουμένως, which «hardly reads like Timaeus' own word». E. MANNI, *Timeo e Duride e la storia di Agatocle, Kokalos* 6 (1960), p. 167-173, at p. 170 n. 7, believes the aorist participle indicates that Timaios has finished his exile and returned home.

into a general admission damaging to his repute as a historian»<sup>98</sup>. In any case, it seems unlikely that Timaios would 'admit' to having no military experience and not visiting the places he writes about, especially at a crucial juncture such as this, a preface to the final five books of his work. If Timaios did mention his long exile, it was probably in the context of a lament at missing his homeland, or being powerless to oppose Agathokles, and he would certainly have followed any such sentiment with an explanation of how he obtained the information necessary to write a history of those events<sup>99</sup>.

The important feature of all this is not so much the mere fact of polemic, but rather the direct contrast between Timaios and Polybios. Again, Polybios is attempting to replace Timaios as Rome's Greek historian. The last section of Book XII makes it clear that Polybios is fighting against Timaios' reputation as an authority on the history of the Western Mediterranean; by the end, his exasperation at his predecessor's success is almost palpable. Despite Timaios having no experience in warfare or politics, despite having never traveled the world, Polybios says, «for some reason unbeknownst to me, he has gained the reputation enjoyed by a first-rate author»<sup>100</sup>. When Polybios chastises Timaios for consistently exalting Sicily above the rest of the Greek world, dismissing the island as a «saucer» (καθάπερ ἐν δξυβάφῳ, XII 23.7) compared to the entire known world, this is not merely the prejudice of a mainland Greek against his long-lost, half-barbarized cousins to the West; the representative, the exemplar, of those historians with whom Timaios compares unfavorably is, in fact, Polybios. This is polemic in its role as subtle self-praise<sup>101</sup>.

Polybios puts two limits on his criticism of other authors: 1) he will only deal with the part of their work that covers the same period he is describing, and 2) he will not deal with αἵρησις, «character», but only

<sup>98</sup> F.W. WALBANK, *Polemic in Polybios* (n. 7), p. 8.

<sup>99</sup> R. VATTUONE, *Storici greci* (n. 7), p. 182 proposes that Timaios was detailing his efforts in finding the materials necessary to write the work, in a fashion similar to that of Theopompos in his *Philippika* (*FGrHist* 115 F26), who reports the large expenses he incurred in researching his topic, or even to that of Thucydides, who at V 26.5 mentions the fact of his exile and tells us that, as a result, he had access to both sides in the conflict.

<sup>100</sup> XII 28.6: οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως ἐκφέρεται δόξαν ὡς ἔλκων τὴν τοῦ συγγραφέως προστάσιαν. Cf. XII 25c, 26d.

<sup>101</sup> J. MARINCOLA, *Authority and Tradition* (n. 7), p. 221.

with «what is proper and useful to history»<sup>102</sup>. But as we have seen, he breaks both of these rules throughout Book XII. The examples I have provided are not designed simply to continue the chain of criticism. Rather, they reveal the artificial nature of ancient historians' polemic against their predecessors. Not only does Polybios distort our image of Timaios directly through his portrayal of him in Book XII, but the polemic itself has a 'stock' character that dilutes the significance of what it might tell us about his actual historiography. To begin to study a fragmentary historian such as Timaios, therefore, we must move outside the framework imposed on the evidence by later authors, especially when — despite any claims to the contrary — they have a polemical agenda which leaves them anything but 'fair and balanced'<sup>103</sup>.

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<sup>102</sup> II 56. Cf. J. BONCQUET, *art. cit.* (n. 7), p. 285.

<sup>103</sup> I would like to thank Michael Flower, Jeremy McInerney and Sheila Murnaghan, for their comments on earlier versions of this paper; Jessica Weaver, for her corrections and improvements to the final draft; and Ancient Society's anonymous reviewer, for bibliographical suggestions.

## ALESSANDRO, SPARTA E LA GUERRA DI VENDETTA CONTRO I PERSIANI

*Abstract:* Through the analysis of the inscription sent by Alexander to Athens concerning the plunder acquired after the battle at the Granicus River (Plut., *Alex.* 16.17; Arr., *Anab.* I 16.7), this paper endeavours to understand Alexander's action and the text of the inscription, in which the king celebrates the victory won by him and the Greeks against the enemy, while leaving the Spartans out of the honour. The reasons for this choice should be linked to the ideological layout of Alexander's expedition in Asia, considered a war of revenge against the Barbarians, and to the propagandistic aims of Callisthenes, the official historian of the expedition: the young Alexander underlines that he, without the Spartans, won the battle at the Granicus river, just as the Athenians, without the Spartans, won the battle of Marathon.

Dopo la vittoria nella battaglia combattuta tra maggio e giugno del 334 sulle sponde del fiume Granico<sup>1</sup>, Alessandro fece incidere una epigrafe celebrativa per inviarla con il bottino in Grecia:

Per condividere la vittoria con i Greci, in particolare con gli Ateniesi, inviò trecento scudi dei prigionieri, mentre in generale, per quanto riguarda il resto del bottino, ordinò che si incidesse un'orgogliosissima epigrafe: "Alessandro, figlio di Filippo, e i Greci, eccetto gli Spartani, dai barbari abitanti dell'Asia" (Plutarco, *Vita di Alessandro* 16.17)<sup>2</sup>.

L'epigrafe è riportata anche da Arriano (*Anabasi* I 16.7), il quale non la definisce ἐπιγραφὴν, bensì ἐπίγραμμα e, a proposito del bottino, a differenza di Plutarco, scrive che Alessandro inviò ad Atene non trecento scudi, ma trecento panoplie persiane, che intendeva offrire al santuario di Atena sull'Acropoli<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Per quanto riguarda l'anno, Diodoro XVII 17.1 fornisce come estremi l'arcontato di Ctesicle e il consolato di Gaio Sulpicio e Lucio Papirio. Per quanto riguarda il mese, maggio/giugno, c'è la testimonianza di Plutarco il quale, utilizzando il calendario macedone, scrive che la battaglia avvenne durante il mese di Desio, corrispondente al Targhelione nel calendario attico; cf. J.R. HAMILTON, *Plutarch. Alexander. A Commentary*, Oxford 1969, p. 39. Pensano al mese di giugno, Eusebio, *De Martyribus Palaestinae (recensio brevior)* 1.2 e [Hippocrates], *Epistula ad Ptolemaeum regem de hominis fabrica* 295.10 e 14.

<sup>2</sup> Κοινοῦμενος δὲ τὴν νίκην τοῖς Ἑλλησιν, ἰδίᾳ μὲν τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἔπεμψε τῶν αἰχμαλώτων τριακοσίας ἄσπίδας, κοινῇ δὲ τοῖς ἄλλοις λαφύροις ἐκέλευσεν ἐπιγράψαι φιλοτιμοτάτην ἐπιγραφὴν· Ἀλέξανδρος [ὁ] Φιλίππου καὶ οἱ Ἕλληνες πλὴν Λακεδαιμονίων ἀπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων τῶν τὴν Ἀσίαν κατοικοῦντων.

<sup>3</sup> Inoltre Arriano non fornisce la motivazione del gesto di Alessandro, come fa, invece, Plutarco.

Le traduzioni intendono il passo come se l'epigrafe fosse stata incisa su una delle spoglie, ma non vi è alcun termine che rimandi a questa interpretazione; è, invece, più probabile che Alessandro abbia fatto incidere la dedica su una lamina di bronzo, semplice da trasportare dall'Asia in Grecia. Il bottino, quindi, viaggiava accompagnato da un'iscrizione: questa suggestione poté spingere un antico copista a correggere ἐπιγραφὴν in ἐπιστολὴν, come se il bottino viaggiasse con una vera e propria lettera di accompagnamento<sup>4</sup>. Alessandro, infatti, quando inviava in Grecia dei doni che provenivano dall'Asia o dal bottino derivante dalla conquista di una città, era solito accompagnarli con delle lettere: ad esempio, dopo la conquista di Gaza scrisse al suo precettore Leonida, annunciando che gli aveva mandato una gran quantità di incenso e di mirra affinché cessasse di essere avaro con gli dei (Plutarco, *Vita di Alessandro* 25.8) e alla madre, Olimpiade, elencando gli utensili che le inviava, tra i quali anche «il cucchiaino», τὸν μύστρον (Polluce VI 87)<sup>5</sup>.

L'iscrizione celebra Alessandro e i Greci: l'esercito di Alessandro, però, non era composto solo da Greci, i quali costituivano la cavalleria degli alleati al comando di Filippo<sup>6</sup> ed erano appena 600 unità<sup>7</sup>, ma

<sup>4</sup> Il codice M (Monacensis 85, XII secolo) riporta ἐπιστολὴν invece che ἐπιγραφὴν, mentre a margine del codice P (Palatinus Heidelbergensis 168 + 169, XI secolo) in corrispondenza di ἐπιγραφὴν si trova anche la lezione ἐπιστολὴν. Vd. l'apparato di K. Ziegler nella edizione teubneriana della *Vita di Alessandro*, Leipzig 1968, vol. II, 2, p. 172, linea 26.

<sup>5</sup> Ateneo, *Gli eruditi a banchetto* XI 784 a, passo al quale rinviava già E. Bethe nell'*editio critica* teubneriana dell'*Onomasticon* di Polluce, *Lexicographi Graeci*, vol. IX: *Pollucis Onomasticon*, p. 25, rigo 16, tramanda una lettera, probabilmente inviata ai satrapi d'Asia, nella quale Alessandro elencava degli oggetti da cucina, presi come bottino: tre coppe (βατικάαι) persiane d'argento rivestite in oro, 176 boccali (κόνδυα) d'argento, dei quali 33 ricoperti d'oro, un vaso (τισιγίτης) d'argento, 32 cucchiaini (μύστροι) d'argento rivestiti in oro, un contenitore (λαγυνοθήκη) d'argento per bottiglie; un vaso da vino persiano (οἶνοφόρον βαρβαρικόν) d'argento, dipinto con una varietà di colori; altre 29 piccole coppe di vario tipo, coppe a forma di corno (ῥυτά), coppe persiane (βατικάαι) ricoperte d'oro prodotte in Licia, incensieri e catini.

<sup>6</sup> Figlio di Menelao, molto probabilmente macedone. Vd. H. BERVE, *Das Alexanderreich auf prosopographischer Grundlage*, München 1926, II, nr. 779, p. 384 e W. HECKEL, *Who's Who in the Age of Alexander the Great. Prosopography of Alexander's Empire*, Malden-Oxford-Carlton 2006, p. 212, s.v. Philip (4).

<sup>7</sup> Diodoro XVII 17.4 è l'unico storico che fornisce i numeri dei singoli reparti che componevano l'esercito con il quale Alessandro sbarcò in Asia; gli altri storici, invece, forniscono solo il numero complessivo: Callistene (*FGrHist* 124 F35) riporta 40.000 fanti e 4.500 cavalieri; Tolemeo (*FGrHist* 138 F4) 30.000 fanti e 5.000 cavalieri; Aristobulo (*FGrHist* 139 F4) 30.000 fanti e 4.000 cavalieri; Anassimene di Lampsaco (*FGrHist* 72 F29) 43.000 fanti e 5.500 cavalieri; Arriano, *Anabasi* I 11.3, poco più di 30.000 fanti e più di 5.000 cavalieri; Giustino XI 6.2, 30.000 fanti e 4.500 cavalieri.



anche da cavalieri tessali, al comando di Calas<sup>8</sup>, da Traci, al comando di Agatone<sup>9</sup> e, soprattutto, dai Macedoni, coloro che erano stati impiegati maggiormente: sette squadroni di cavalleria degli ἑταῖροι, gli arcieri e gli Agriani sotto il comando di Filota, figlio di Parmenione; i cavalieri “armati di sarissa”, σαρισσοφόροι, comandati da Aminta, figlio di Arrabeo, i Peoni e l’ottavo squadrone di cavalleria, comandato da Socrate; gli ipaspisti, al comando di Nicanore, figlio di Parmenione; vi erano, inoltre, le falangi di Perdicca, di Ceno, di Cratero, di Aminta, di Filippo, figlio di Aminta, e di Meleagro<sup>10</sup>.

Alessandro, quindi, in teoria, avrebbe dovuto elencare tutti i popoli che avevano partecipato alla battaglia<sup>11</sup>, e non solo i Greci, che, come sappiamo, avevano partecipato in numero esiguo rispetto ai Macedoni<sup>12</sup>.

Per quanto riguarda l’assenza di questi ultimi, si può ricordare che la sottomissione della Macedonia ai Persiani risaliva al 511/510, quando il persiano Megabazo inviò in Macedonia come messaggeri «sette uomini persiani che dopo di lui erano i più stimati nell’esercito» per chiedere «terra e acqua» ed essi furono accolti amichevolmente da Aminta che offrì loro anche la cena e le concubine<sup>13</sup>. Qualche anno dopo, nel 492, al

<sup>8</sup> Figlio di Arpalo, probabilmente un cugino omonimo del più conosciuto tesoriere di Alessandro. Vd. H. BERVE, *op. cit.* (n. 6), II, nr. 397, p. 188 e W. HECKEL, *op. cit.* (n. 6), p. 74-75, s.v. *Calas*.

<sup>9</sup> Figlio di Tirimma, molto probabilmente aveva origini macedoni. Vd. H. BERVE, *op. cit.* (n. 6), II, nr. 8, p. 6-7 e W. HECKEL, *op. cit.* (n. 6), p. 7, s.v. *Agathon* (1).

<sup>10</sup> Vd. Arriano, *Anabasi* I 14.1-3. Su Filippo, figlio di Aminta, «an obscure individual», vd. A.B. BOSWORTH, *A Historical Commentary on Arrian's History of Alexander*, Oxford 1980, I, p. 118. Per il numero dei soldati che parteciparono alla battaglia, vd. Diodoro XVII 17 e le osservazioni di N.G.L. HAMMOND, *The Battle of the Granicus River*, *JHS* 100 (1980), p. 82-83. Per la disposizione delle truppe, vd. N.Th. NIKOLITSIS, *The Battle of the Granicus*, Stockholm 1974, p. 20-24, 34-35 e 64-65.

<sup>11</sup> Così accade nell’iscrizione (R. MEIGGS – D. LEWIS, *A Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions to the End of the Fifth Century B.C.*, Oxford 1969, nr. 27, p. 57-60) che elenca tutti i popoli che avevano combattuto nelle guerre persiane, a cominciare da Spartani, Ateniesi e Corinzi, posta sulle spire della colonna bronzea serpentina, vista da Pausania (σῶον καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἔτι ἦν: X 13.9), sormontata da un tripode d’oro (Erodoto IX 81.1; cf. Diodoro XI 33.2), probabilmente fuso durante la terza guerra sacra; cf. A.W. GOMME, *A Historical Commentary on Thucydides*, Oxford 1945, vol. I, p. 434 e D. ASHERI, in *Erodoto. Le Storie. Libro IX. La battaglia di Platea*, Milano 2006, Fondazione Lorenzo Valla, vol. IX, p. 283-286.

<sup>12</sup> Un’ipotesi che cercava di spiegare la menzione dei soli Greci fu avanzata da U. WILCKEN, *Alexandre le Grand*, Paris 1933, p. 83, già una settantina di anni fa, secondo il quale Alessandro trattava i contingenti greci, non come alleati ma piuttosto come ostaggi, destinati ad assicurargli la tranquillità in Grecia.

<sup>13</sup> Erodoto V 17.1-19.

tempo della spedizione di Mardonio, poco prima del naufragio della flotta persiana nel corso della navigazione nei pressi del monte Athos, altri Macedoni erano diventati schiavi, δοῦλοι<sup>14</sup>. Dopo la battaglia di Salamina, il figlio di Aminta, Alessandro I, fu inviato da Mardonio ad Atene per chiedere la resa: egli, in quanto prosseno degli Ateniesi, poteva convincerli ad accettare la sottomissione, ma, al contempo, i Persiani nutrivano fiducia in lui perché era legato a loro dal matrimonio di sua sorella Gigea con il persiano Bubare<sup>15</sup>. Se Aminta e Alessandro I, suoi antenati, avevano sempre avuto ottimi rapporti con i Persiani, nell'ottica del giovane re, che conduceva la guerra di vendetta dei Greci contro i barbari, non poteva non esserci un po' di imbarazzo nell'includere anche i Macedoni nell'epigrafe.

Un'altra spiegazione potrebbe essere quella secondo la quale i Macedoni furono inclusi, in maniera innovativa, tra i Greci<sup>16</sup>. Isocrate, nell'anno 346, distingue ancora tra Greci, che Filippo doveva beneficiare, Macedoni, sui quali doveva regnare, e barbari, che doveva conquistare (*Filippo* 154)<sup>17</sup>; e, in un documento ufficiale che registrava i talenti restituiti dai Focesi alla fine della terza guerra sacra, erano indicati tutti i popoli che facevano parte del consiglio anfizionico, ma non i Macedoni, bensì Filippo<sup>18</sup>.

Ora con Alessandro le cose erano cambiate ed egli forse mirava a far intendere che la vittoria al Granico era di tutti i Greci, senza distinzione

<sup>14</sup> Erodoto VI 44.1.

<sup>15</sup> Erodoto VIII 136 e 140. Ha scritto A. MOMIGLIANO, *Filippo il Macedone. Saggio sulla storia greca del IV secolo a.C.*, Milano 1934, p. 4, che Alessandro, figlio di Aminta, non aveva fatto nulla a favore dei Greci durante le guerre persiane, ma soltanto in seguito dedicò una colonna d'oro a Delfi, proveniente dal bottino persiano, si fece ammettere ai giochi olimpici (Erodoto V 22.2; cf. Solino IX 13) ed entrò in contatto con Pindaro (fr. 120-121; cf. Solino IX 13). A proposito della colonna, vorrei segnalare una piccola svista: Momigliano cita Erodoto VIII 121, il quale, però, parla di una statua d'oro, così come [Demostene] XII 21, nella lettera di Filippo agli Ateniesi, il quale aggiunge che la statua fu costruita con il guadagno della vendita di prigionieri persiani catturati nell'occupazione del territorio dove in seguito sorse Anfipoli; cf. Solino IX 13.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. F. SISTI, in *Arriano. Anabasi di Alessandro*, Milano 2001, Fondazione Lorenzo Valla, vol. I, p. 366.

<sup>17</sup> [...] τοὺς μὲν Ἑλληνας εὐεργετεῖν, Μακεδόνων δὲ βασιλεῦειν, τῶν δὲ βαρβάρων ὡς πλείστον ἄρχειν. Se avesse compiuto queste azioni, egli ne avrebbe tratto numerosi vantaggi: tutti gli sarebbero stati grati, i Greci perché trattati con riguardo, i Macedoni perché guidati da un re e non da un tiranno, le restanti popolazioni perché liberate dal dispotismo persiano.

<sup>18</sup> Vd. M.N. TOD, *A Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions*, vol. II, *From 403 to 323 B.C.*, Oxford 1948, nr. 172A, p. 209-214.

di *ethnè*<sup>19</sup> e che i Macedoni ormai erano Greci tra Greci, per cui non c'era motivo di indicarli esplicitamente nell'epigrafe che accompagnava il bottino preso ai nemici: era un piccolo sacrificio dei Macedoni in favore dell'unità ellenica o, addirittura, un regalo che Alessandro intendeva far loro, facendoli sentire parte dei Greci.

Da questo punto di vista, è interessante anche il termine utilizzato da Alessandro per indicare i Persiani: *βάρβαροι*. La vittoria al Granico è considerata una vittoria tutta greca nella guerra di vendetta contro i Persiani i quali non sono chiamati con il loro nome, ma sono definiti 'barbari' come si usava fare da Erodoto in poi, fino ancora all'epoca della propaganda isocratea. L'idea della guerra di vendetta condotta contro i Persiani, inoltre, aveva già animato il congresso convocato da Filippo a Corinto: le motivazioni della imminente spedizione in Asia, infatti, venivano fatte risalire al V secolo e precisamente erano costituite dalle offese fatte ai templi greci da parte di Serse<sup>20</sup>.

L'invio come bottino di 300 panoplie, nel caso sia più corretta la tradizione di Arriano, al santuario di Atena *Polias* assume, quindi, un significato importante: la dea era stata la protettrice dei Greci durante le guerre persiane<sup>21</sup>, il tempio di Atena sull'Acropoli era stato quello più colpito durante la spedizione di Serse del 480<sup>22</sup>, e nel periodo successivo alla fine delle guerre, intorno alla metà del V sec. a.C., in occasione delle Grandi Panatenee, le città che aderivano alla lega marittima avevano l'usanza di offrire ad Atena una *πανοπλία*<sup>23</sup>.

L'elemento della dedica che colpisce, però, più degli altri è l'esclusione esplicita degli Spartani, popolo di combattenti per eccellenza, dalla gloria della vittoria: ciò porta a riflettere sulle motivazioni del gesto di

<sup>19</sup> Cf. R. LANE FOX, *Alessandro Magno*, Torino 1981 (= *Alexander the Great*, London 1973), p. 122.

<sup>20</sup> Diodoro XVI 89.2 è l'unica testimonianza riguardo alla motivazione della spedizione in Asia di Filippo.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. G. NENCI, *Significato etico-politico ed economico delle guerre persiane*, in *Storia e civiltà dei Greci. La Grecia nell'età di Pericle. Storia, letteratura, filosofia*, vol. III, Milano 1979, p. 33-35.

<sup>22</sup> Erodoto VIII 52-55. Cf. A.B. BOSWORTH, *op. cit.* (n. 10), I, p. 127, il quale osserva che Alessandro doveva «necessarily» mandare al tempio i primi frutti della vendetta nei confronti dei Persiani, dal momento che esso era stato la vittima principale nel corso della guerra.

<sup>23</sup> Vd. G. SQUILLACE, *Alessandro e l'offerta ad Atena di 300 panoplie*, *MStudStor* 9 (1992-1994), p. 17-18, dove segnala alcune testimonianze epigrafiche e ID., *Βασιλεῖς ἢ τύραννοι. Filippo II e Alessandro Magno tra opposizione e consenso*, Soveria Mannelli 2004, p. 154-155.

Alessandro. Si potrebbe pensare che l'espressione «eccetto gli Spartani» sia dovuta al fatto che essi non avevano partecipato al congresso di Corinto, tenutosi nel 338/337 per sancire la pace comune e stabilire l'egemonia di Filippo come στρατηγὸς αὐτοκράτωρ<sup>24</sup> su tutti i Greci, i quali gli avevano affidato il comando della spedizione contro la Persia, comando che dopo la sua morte, nel 336, era passato ad Alessandro<sup>25</sup>; di conseguenza gli Spartani non erano partiti per la spedizione in Asia.

L'esclusione degli Spartani, però, forse non era dovuta solo al loro rifiuto di partecipare al congresso di Corinto, ma aveva ragioni che risa-  
livano ancora più indietro nel tempo. I rapporti della città con la Macedonia erano stati da sempre tutt'altro che idilliaci: sin dallo scoppio, nel

<sup>24</sup> Il titolo è attestato da Diodoro nel preambolo del libro XVI (αὐτοκράτορα στρατηγόν), in XVI 89.3 (στρατηγὸν αὐτοκράτορα τῆς Ἑλλάδος) e, ancora prima, in *P. Oxy.* I 12, col. III, ll. 11-12 (αὐτοκράτορα στρατηγόν). Il papiro, datato dagli editori tra la fine del II sec. e il 30 a.C., è da loro definito «Chronological Work» e, su questa scia, Jacoby, *FGrHist* 255, parla di «Chronik von Oxyrhynchos».

<sup>25</sup> Vd., ad esempio, M.A. LEVI, *Alessandro Magno*, Milano 1977, p. 220; F. SISTI, *op. cit.* (n. 16), p. 366; H.-J. GEHRKE, *Alessandro Magno*, Bologna 2002 (= *Alexander der Große*, München 1996), p. 36. All'ipotesi secondo la quale gli Spartani sono esclusi solo per il fatto che non avevano partecipato al congresso di Corinto, J.R. HAMILTON, *op. cit.* (n. 1), p. 42, aggiunge un'osservazione riguardante i Greci: il fatto che Alessandro dedichi le spoglie insieme con i Greci e non con i Macedoni era un gesto diplomatico rivolto ad ingraziarseli poiché sappiamo che solo 600 cavalieri erano Greci, mentre il grosso delle truppe era macedone (vd. *supra*, p. 36, nota 7). R. LANE FOX, *op. cit.* (n. 19), p. 122-123, invece, cerca di individuare il significato nascosto del gesto di Alessandro: egli considera l'esclusione degli Spartani come «uno dei più brillanti slogan diplomatici nella storia antica» e capace di rievocare emozioni che affondavano le loro radici nella storia greca degli ultimi due secoli, in quanto la vittoria nella guerra di vendetta era avvenuta senza il contributo di un popolo che, in passato, al contrario, aveva vinto i barbari alle Termopile, ma che, allo stesso tempo, dopo aver liberato i Greci d'Asia, li aveva abbandonati ai Persiani. W. WILL, *Athen und Alexander. Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der Stadt von 338 bis 322 v.Chr.*, München 1983, p. 56 nota 55, pone l'accento su un altro aspetto della questione: escludere gli Spartani e inviare spoglie in numero di 300, come i 300 Spartani morti alle Termopile, non era una scelta casuale, ma intenzionale, finalizzata a rilevare che gli Spartani avevano rinunciato a vendicare i propri morti del 480. M. FLOWER, *Alexander the Great and Panhellenism*, in *Alexander the Great in Fact and Fiction* (edd. A.B. Bosworth – E.J. Baynham), Oxford-New York 2000, p. 110, sembra riprendere il pensiero di Lane Fox e individua la motivazione dell'esclusione degli Spartani nell'intenzione di Alessandro di rievocare il passato: come, nel 412, prima, e nel 387/386, poi, gli Spartani avevano tradito la fiducia riposta in loro dai Greci d'Asia, abbandonandoli alla mercé dei Persiani, così ora avevano rifiutato di prendere parte alla guerra di vendetta contro i barbari. P. CARTLEDGE, *The Spartans. The World of the Warrior-Heroes of Ancient Greece, from Utopia to Crisis and Collapse*, Woodstock (NY) 2003, p. 232, come Will, pone l'accento sulla presenza del numero 300 e sulle parole «eccetto gli Spartani», sottolineando che era un insulto calcolato per la pubblica umiliazione di Sparta, la quale non aveva partecipato alla vendetta contro i Persiani.

356, della cosiddetta terza 'guerra sacra', Sparta aveva combattuto, a fianco dei Focesi, contro i Beoti, i Locresi e i Tessali che, nel 354, chiesero aiuto a Filippo contro il tiranno Licofrone di Fere, sostenuto dai Focesi; sconfitto dal comandante focese Onomarco, Filippo organizzò una ritirata strategica e nel 352, tornò a combattere sconfiggendo i Focesi a Pagase. Nel 346, alla fine della guerra<sup>26</sup>, persero i voti e furono esclusi dal consiglio anfizionico i Focesi, per il crimine commesso, e una parte dei Dori, i Lacedemoni, per essersi alleati con loro<sup>27</sup>; Filippo, invece, entrò a far parte della Anfizionia delfica prendendo i due voti sottratti ai Focesi<sup>28</sup>. Nel 343, Argo, Megalopoli e Messene, nemiche di Sparta, si allearono con Filippo<sup>29</sup>; l'Elide, che nel corso della storia era stata spesso alleata di Sparta<sup>30</sup>, passò, molto probabilmente, a Messene<sup>31</sup>, quindi in pratica a Filippo. Pochi anni dopo, in seguito alla vittoria di Filippo e di Alessandro nella battaglia di Cheronea del 338 combattuta contro Ateniesi, Tebani, Beoti e Corinzi<sup>32</sup>, Sparta, sebbene non avesse preso parte

<sup>26</sup> Sulle cause e sulle alterne vicende della guerra, vd. il racconto dettagliato di Diodoro XVI 23 e sgg. Per il ruolo di Sparta e i suoi rapporti con Filippo durante il conflitto, vd. E. DAVID, *Sparta between Empire and Revolution (404-243 B.C.). Internal Problems and their Impact on Contemporary Greek Consciousness*, Salem 1981, p. 106-109.

<sup>27</sup> Pausania X 8.2 è l'unica fonte che dà notizia della perdita dei voti nell'Anfizionia anche da parte degli Spartani, ma non precisa chi prese i voti loro sottratti. La notizia è respinta come falsa da H. POMTOW, in *RE* IV 2 (1901), s.v. *Delphoi*, col. 2563-2566.

<sup>28</sup> Sulla composizione del consiglio anfizionico, vd. G. DAUX, *Remarques sur la composition du conseil amphictionique*, *BCH* 81 (1957), p. 95-120 e, in particolare, p. 105-108; sul successivo ingresso degli Spartani, vd. R. FLACELIÈRE, *La représentation de Sparte a l'Amphictionie delphique*, *REA* 42 (1940), p. 142-156.

<sup>29</sup> Demostene, *De corona* 295; Polibio XVIII 14.

<sup>30</sup> Nel VI secolo quando Sparta condusse una guerra in aiuto degli Elei contro i Pisati per il controllo della regione, alla quale apparteneva il santuario di Olimpia (Pausania V 6.4; 10.2), gli Elei divennero fedeli alleati degli Spartani (Senofonte, *Elleniche* III 2.31) e rimasero loro alleati fino all'epoca della pace di Nicia. Tornarono ad allearsi con gli Spartani negli anni dal 366 al 362: impadronitisi di Lasion, che in passato aveva fatto parte del loro territorio, ma ora apparteneva alla Lega arcade, furono attaccati e sconfitti più volte dagli Arcadi e, quindi, chiesero l'intervento degli Spartani (*Elleniche* VII 4.12-34); nel 362, fecero un accordo con Spartani, Arcadi di Mantinea (sulla divisione della Lega arcade tra Tegea e Mantinea, vd. *Elleniche* VII 4.33-5.3; Diodoro XV 82.1-4), Achei e Ateniesi (*Elleniche* VII 5.1-3; 18) e, nella battaglia di Mantinea, furono a fianco degli Spartani contro la coalizione tebana (*Elleniche* VII 5.20-25).

<sup>31</sup> Vd. P. CARTLEDGE – A. SPAWFORTH, *Hellenistic and Roman Sparta. A Tale of Two Cities*, London-New York 2002<sup>2</sup>, p. 13.

<sup>32</sup> La guerra, definita da D. MUSTI, *Storia Greca. Linee di sviluppo dall'età micenea all'età romana*, Roma-Bari 1989, p. 621-632, «a rigore una quarta guerra sacra», era scoppiata nel 340 in seguito all'accusa mossa dai Locresi di Anfissa agli Ateniesi, colpevoli, secondo loro, di aver offerto scudi votivi al santuario delfico non ancora riconsacrato dopo la terza guerra sacra; Atene, a sua volta, aveva accusato i Locresi di aver coltivato

alla battaglia (molto probabilmente perché aveva perso i voti all'interno del consiglio anzionico), fu penalizzata dalla vittoria macedone, perché Filippo, forse intenzionato ad isolarla, la privò di gran parte del suo territorio che fu trasferito alle città confinanti. A Megalopoli, sua alleata, e a Tegea, Filippo assegnò la Belbinatide, il tratto della Laconia più ricco d'acqua<sup>33</sup>, e la Sciritide<sup>34</sup>, con le sorgenti dell'Eurota; a Messene, sua alleata, assegnò la costa orientale del Golfo Messenico, ad occidente del Taigeto fino a capo Tenaro, la cosiddetta Dentaliatide<sup>35</sup>; ad Argo assegnò la Cinuria<sup>36</sup>. Il territorio di Sparta, quindi, fu notevolmente ridotto a nord, a sud-ovest e ad est e ristretto all'area compresa tra il Taigeto e il Parnone<sup>37</sup>. Non appena Sparta rifiutò questa drastica riduzione di territorio che le avrebbe procurato gravi problemi economici, dal momento che era stata privata dei territori più fertili<sup>38</sup>, Filippo invase la Laconia<sup>39</sup>. Sparta, di conseguenza, si rifiutò di riconoscere la supremazia macedone e di unirsi alla lega di Corinto<sup>40</sup>. Quando, poi, Alessandro salì al trono e

un terreno sacro. La guerra si concluse con la battaglia di Cheronea. Vd. Eschine, *Contro Ctesifonte* 113-129; Demostene, *De corona* 143-148; Diodoro XVI 84-87.2; Plutarco, *Vita di Demostene* 20.3; Giustino IX 3.11-4.

<sup>33</sup> Livio, *Ab Urbe condita* XXXVIII 34. Così chiamata dalla città di Belbina, situata nella valle superiore dell'Eurota, 100 stadi a nord di Pellana (Pausania III 21.3), la regione apparteneva, forse, alla laconica Tripoli, anche se originariamente doveva appartenere all'Arcadia (VIII 35.4). Vd. E. OBERHUMMER, in *RE* III (1897), s.v. *Belbina* (2), col. 198. La voce manca in M. GRANT, *A Guide to the Ancient World. A Dictionary of Classical Place Names*, New York 1986.

<sup>34</sup> Regione a Nord della Laconia, tra Oinos e il corso superiore dell'Eurota, fu sottratta a Sparta per uno dei beni più preziosi nell'antichità, l'acqua: sebbene, infatti, fosse una regione montagnosa e inospitale, era importante, per Sparta, dal momento che controllava le due strade, gli unici accessi utilizzabili, che portavano da Megalopoli e da Tegea nella valle dell'Eurota. Vd. F. GEYER, in *RE* IIIA (1927), s.v. *Skiritis* (1), col. 536-537. La voce manca in M. GRANT, *op. cit.* (n. 33).

<sup>35</sup> Tacito, *Annali* IV 43.

<sup>36</sup> Pausania II 20.1. Situata sulla costa orientale del Peloponneso tra l'Argolide e la Laconia, la regione aveva preso il nome dai suoi abitanti, una delle tribù più antiche della penisola, che discendeva da Cinuro, figlio di Perseo, il quale aveva portato dei coloni da Argo (Erodoto VIII 73; Pausania III 2.1). Vd. R.E. BELL, *Place-Names in Classical Mythology. Greece*, Santa Barbara-Oxford 1989, p. 101, s.v. *Cynuria*.

<sup>37</sup> Polibio IX 28.6-7; XVIII 14.6-7.

<sup>38</sup> Gli unici territori dei quali Sparta non fu privata erano la valle dell'Eurota, piagata da continue alluvioni, territorio nel quale lavoravano gli iloti, la penisola di Mani, con un territorio scarsamente produttivo, a parte il porto e il territorio di Gizio, e la penisola di Malea, ricca di minerali di ferro. Vd. P. CARTLEDGE – A. SPAWFORTH, *op. cit.* (n. 31), p. 15. Sui nuovi confini di Sparta, vd. C. ROEBUCK, *The Settlements of Philip II with the Greek States in 338 B.C.*, *CPh* 43 (1948), p. 84-92; E. DAVID, *op. cit.* (n. 26), p. 110 e C. FORNIS, *Esparta. Historia, sociedad y cultura de un mito historiográfico*, Barcelona 2003, p. 199-200.

<sup>39</sup> Polibio V 17-19; Pausania III 24.6.

assunse il comando della spedizione persiana, come era stato deciso a Corinto nel 336 in un nuovo congresso<sup>41</sup>, Sparta, intenzionata, ancora una volta, a non accettare le decisioni prese, si rifiutò di riconoscerlo come il rappresentante della Grecia contro i Persiani<sup>42</sup>, come aveva già fatto con Filippo; inoltre Agide III, re di Sparta, nel 335 o 334, fu indirettamente coinvolto nei negoziati con Memnone di Rodi, che comandava la flotta di Dario<sup>43</sup>.

Fin qui le motivazioni storiche e politiche che avrebbero portato Alessandro ad estromettere gli Spartani dall'epigrafe fatta incidere allo scopo di ricordare per sempre la battaglia appena vinta al Granico. Nella loro esclusione, però, si potrebbero individuare altre motivazioni di carattere ideologico.

<sup>40</sup> Giustino IX 5.3: «Soltanto gli Spartani disdegnarono il re e le sue leggi, ritenendo schiavitù, non pace, quella che non risultava dall'accordo delle città stesse ma era imposta dal vincitore». Per le caratteristiche della lega, vd. A. MOMIGLIANO, *op. cit.* (n. 15), p. 163-165. P. CARTLEDGE, *op. cit.* (n. 25), p. 232, sostiene, a ragione, che Filippo, esperto nella diplomazia, non si diede pensiero di occupare Sparta e la lasciò deliberatamente fuori dalla lega di Corinto, perché sapeva bene che, con l'esclusione di Sparta dalla Lega, avrebbe guadagnato la lealtà delle altre città antispartane.

<sup>41</sup> Per l'interpretazione dell'iscrizione molto frammentaria relativa al rapporto tra Alessandro e i Greci, vd. M.N. TOD, *op. cit.* (n. 18), II, nr.183, p. 240-241.

<sup>42</sup> Strabone VIII 5.5, scrive che gli Spartani volevano conservare la loro autonomia opponendosi non solo al resto della Grecia ma anche «ai re di Macedonia»: con il plurale, molto probabilmente, allude a Filippo e ad Alessandro; vd. Giustino XII 1.7 (cf. XXVIII 4.1), il quale scrive che gli Spartani erano stati i soli a respingere le condizioni dettate da Filippo e da Alessandro. Arriano, *Anabasi* I 1.2, fornisce le motivazioni del gesto spartano: quando Alessandro, dopo essere succeduto a Filippo, chiese ai Greci il comando che avevano già concesso a suo padre, solo gli Spartani non accolsero la richiesta, rispondendo che era contrario alla loro tradizione seguire gli altri, dal momento che da sempre erano essi guida di altri. Plutarco, *Apophthegmata Laconica* 240a, sembra insistere sul coraggio degli Spartani: sottolinea, infatti, che nonostante essi versassero in una situazione non facile, a causa delle continue guerre, tuttavia non presero parte a nessuna campagna di Filippo e di Alessandro, non parteciparono al congresso di Corinto e non pagarono il tributo.

<sup>43</sup> L'ipotesi è di P. CARTLEDGE – A. SPAWFORTH, *op. cit.* (n. 31), p. 21. Su Memnone di Rodi, vd. H. BERVE, *op. cit.* (n. 6), II, nr. 497, p. 250-253 e E. BADIAN, in *DNP*, vol. VII (1999), col. 1204-1205, s.v. *Memnon* (3). U. WILCKEN, *op. cit.* (n. 12), p. 78, ricorda che, nel 336/335, Dario III, da poco salito al trono, aveva cercato di corrompere le città greche per farle insorgere contro la Macedonia, ma che solo Sparta, la quale si era rifiutata di entrare nella lega di Corinto, aveva accettato l'oro persiano. Wilcken non cita la fonte relativa alla corruzione degli Spartani: la notizia si legge in Arriano, *Anabasi* II 14.6. Vd. *infra*, p. 49-50. Il tentativo di Dario, molto probabilmente, era dovuto al fatto di aver già visto Parmenione combattere in Asia: secondo una notizia di Polieno, *Strategemata* V 44.4, infatti, Parmenione, inviato da Filippo in Asia come avanguardia con Attalo e Aminta, aveva sconfitto Memnone di Rodi a Magnesia sul Meandro. Non era



Alessandro, che non ha sconfitto definitivamente i Persiani, non è ancora il nuovo Gran Re, l'erede della dinastia persiana, ma ricopre il ruolo di vendicatore dei Greci contro i Persiani. Per i Greci e, in particolare, per gli Ateniesi, sempre pronti a celebrare il loro passato glorioso, era motivo di gran vanto vedere un condottiero che li aiutava nel compito di tornare ad essere «i salvatori della Grecia», come lo erano stati per Erodoto (VII 139.5), ed in quello di emulare le gloriose gesta di circa centocinquanta anni prima, portando la guerra di vendetta in terra persiana: già Isocrate nel 346, con il *Filippo*, aveva inteso assegnare il compito, che nel 380, all'epoca del *Panegirico*, affidava ancora agli Ateniesi, al padre di Alessandro. Mentre, però, Filippo, tra il 337 e il 336, dopo il congresso di Corinto, aveva inviato in missione esplorativa in Asia 10.000 uomini al comando di Parmenione e di Attalo<sup>44</sup>, Alessandro decide sin da subito di partire in prima persona, con al seguito addirittura uno storico ufficiale, Callistene. La sua spedizione, poi, nella tradizione storico-letteraria, non ha più motivazioni economiche, come quella di suo padre Filippo<sup>45</sup>, ma sin dall'inizio è caratterizzata da gesti simbolici.

la prima volta che i re persiani cercavano di corrompere i Greci offrendo dell'oro: sin dal 479, essi avevano cercato di corrompere, senza successo, Ateniesi e Spartani (Diodoro XI 28.1-2); Erodoto IX 2.3, racconta che i Tebani consigliarono a Mardonio di inviare del denaro alle città greche per provocare dissidi tra loro e che, prima della battaglia di Platea, Artabazo riteneva opportuno non cercare uno scontro campale con i Greci, ma ritirarsi all'interno delle mura di Tebe e offrire ai capi delle città greche l'oro e l'argento che erano nel campo persiano: così i Greci avrebbero subito rinunciato alla libertà (IX 41.2-3). Sulla corruzione persiana tramite l'oro, vd. D.M. LEWIS, *Persian Gold in Greek International Relations*, *REA* 91 (1989), p. 227-235 e M. LOMBARDO, *Oro lidio e oro persiano nelle Storie di Erodoto*, *ibid.*, p. 197-212.

<sup>44</sup> Diodoro XVI 91.2.

<sup>45</sup> A. MOMIGLIANO, *op. cit.* (n. 15), p. 165-166, osserva che le motivazioni di Filippo erano quasi esclusivamente economiche, ma, al contempo, il Consiglio riunitosi a Corinto poteva votare soltanto una guerra di vendetta, dal momento che esso aveva il compito di preservare la pace comune. Riguardo alle motivazioni economiche, Momigliano sottolinea che le finanze macedoni erano sull'orlo del disastro, dal momento che era necessario un notevole dispendio di denaro sia per la propaganda politica in Grecia sia per le campagne militari e, tra l'altro, Alessandro si era ritrovato con le casse dello stato quasi vuote e con molti debiti: aveva a disposizione 60 talenti di contro a 500 talenti di debiti. Solo una spedizione in Asia, quindi, «poteva evitare la bancarotta» (p. 166). Momigliano non cita alcuna fonte, ma, molto probabilmente, si rifà al discorso tenuto ad Opi ai soldati nel 324 dallo stesso Alessandro, il quale ricorda quanto aveva trovato nelle casse e i debiti ereditati alla morte del padre, così come è tramandato da Arriano, *Anabasi* VII 9.6 e da Curzio Rufo X 2.24. Plutarco, *Vita di Alessandro* 15.1-2, invece, tramanda una notizia di Aristobulo secondo la quale Alessandro non aveva a disposizione più di 70 talenti e un'altra di Onesicrito secondo la quale i debiti di Alessandro ammontavano a 200 talenti; cf. Plutarco, *De Alexandri Magni Fortuna aut Virtute* I 327d.

Non appena giunse in Asia, infatti, Alessandro si recò ad Ilio, offrì un sacrificio ad Atena e libagioni funebri sulle tombe degli eroi che erano lì sepolti, in particolare unse di olio la stele di Achille, vi corse attorno nudo con i suoi compagni e la incoronò; e quando, poi, mentre andava in giro per la città, gli chiesero se voleva vedere la lira di Paride, rispose che gli importava pochissimo, ma che cercava un'altra lira sulla quale Achille cantava la gloria e le gesta degli uomini valorosi di un tempo<sup>46</sup>. Arriano aggiunge nuovi elementi che insistono sulla guerra combattuta da Greci contro barbari, sempre attraverso richiami alla guerra di Troia: riportando un'idea molto probabilmente risalente agli storici contemporanei di Alessandro, scrive che il re fu il primo, dopo Protesilao, a sbarcare in Asia in armi<sup>47</sup>; innalzò altari a Zeus, protettore dello sbarco, ad Atena e ad Eracle; ad Ilio sacrificò ad Atena Iliade e dedicò nel tempio la sua armatura completa<sup>48</sup>, prendendo in cambio le armi sacre conservate sin dalla guerra di Troia<sup>49</sup>: novello Achille che aveva ricevuto armi divine prima di uscire in battaglia<sup>50</sup>.

Il richiamo alla condivisione della vittoria con i Greci, nell'iscrizione che celebrava la battaglia al Granico, e soprattutto con gli Ateniesi, e, di contro, l'esclusione degli Spartani sembrano, poi, voler istituire un collegamento tra l'esperienza del Granico e le guerre persiane. Gli Spartani, al tempo della rivolta della Ionia, considerata da Erodoto il presupposto delle guerre persiane, avevano rifiutato di aiutare gli Ioni, perché l'Asia era una terra troppo lontana<sup>51</sup>. La prima spedizione persiana era stata condotta da Dario esclusivamente contro Atene ed Eretria, per vendicarsi delle uniche due città che avevano inviato aiuti agli Ioni: gli Ateniesi avevano chiesto aiuto agli Spartani, ma essi erano arrivati in ritardo e a

<sup>46</sup> Plutarco, *Vita di Alessandro* 15.7-9; Diodoro XVII 17.3-18.1.

<sup>47</sup> *Iliade* II 702.

<sup>48</sup> Per A.B. BOSWORTH, *op. cit.* (n. 10), I, p. 102, i sacrifici alla dea Atena sottolineano che quella di Alessandro era soprattutto una crociata per vendicare Atene.

<sup>49</sup> *Anabasi* I 11.7-8.

<sup>50</sup> *Iliade* XVIII 477-481. Vd. R. LANE FOX, *op. cit.* (n. 19), p. 111.

<sup>51</sup> Erodoto V 49.1-51.3. G. NENCI, *Introduzione alle guerre persiane*, Pisa 1958, p. 179 e Id., *art. cit.* (n. 21), p. 11, osserva che Sparta non aveva interessi diretti in Asia, ma si limitava ad una economia prettamente regionale, mentre Atene era aperta ai commerci con la Ionia e grazie ad essi aveva beneficiato della prosperità della Lidia; e, inoltre, nutriva sospetto verso imprese lontane dal Peloponneso; cf. P. TOZZI, *La rivolta ionica*, Pisa 1978, p. 159 e G. NENCI, in *Erodoto. Le Storie. Libro V. La rivolta della Ionia*, Milano 1994, Fondazione Lorenzo Valla, vol. V, p. 228.

battaglia conclusa<sup>52</sup>. Nella seconda spedizione persiana gli Spartani combattono, ma per difendere il loro territorio, «preoccupati soprattutto della salvezza del Peloponneso» (Erodoto VIII 40.2)<sup>53</sup>. Persino dopo la battaglia di Salamina, alla quale partecipano, gli Spartani conservano il loro atteggiamento prudente e si rifiutano di combattere al di fuori del loro territorio: respingono, infatti, la richiesta degli Ioni di essere liberati<sup>54</sup>.

L'iscrizione che celebra la vittoria al Granico è riportata, come si è visto, da Plutarco e da Arriano, autori tardi rispetto all'epoca dei fatti, i quali hanno tratto la citazione da uno storico contemporaneo al seguito di Alessandro nella spedizione in Asia, dal momento che nemmeno Pausania parla dell'iscrizione o accenna alle spoglie inviate da Alessandro, per cui si può ragionevolmente affermare che già nel II d.C. non ci fossero più. Molto probabilmente la fonte di Arriano e di Plutarco è Callistene<sup>55</sup>, lo storico ufficiale della spedizione in Asia<sup>56</sup>, la cui opera

<sup>52</sup> Erodoto VI 106.3, scrive che gli Spartani, dopo aver ricevuto una richiesta di aiuto da parte degli Ateniesi che avevano inviato Filippide presso di loro, decisero di aiutarli, ma non poterono farlo subito per non trasgredire la legge che vietava di partire durante le feste Carnee, celebrate tra il settimo e il quindicesimo giorno del mese Carneio (agosto-settembre), chiamato così dall'epiteto di Apollo; vd. G. NENCI, in *Erodoto. Le Storie. Libro VI. La battaglia di Maratona*, Milano 1998, Fondazione Lorenzo Valla, vol. VI, p. 269. Erodoto aggiunge che, dopo il plenilunio, arrivarono ad Atene duemila Spartani, i quali, in gran fretta, avevano percorso il tragitto in tre giorni: ormai, però, era troppo tardi per la battaglia (120).

<sup>53</sup> In Erodoto, infatti, si legge che gli Spartani avevano deciso di costruire un muro difensivo sull'Istmo in seguito al massacro delle Termopile e per questo non avevano inviato il loro esercito in Beozia poco prima della battaglia di Salamina; quindi, nel 479, non temevano l'arrivo di Mardonio e l'eventuale occupazione dell'Attica perché ormai l'Istmo era fortificato (VIII 40.2, 71.2; IX 6-8). Gli Spartani non combattono per amore dell'unità ellenica, sentimento descritto a metà del V secolo da Erodoto in VIII 144.2, già espresso da Eschilo nei *Persiani* nel 472. Secondo D. ASHERI, *Identità greche, identità greca*, in *I Greci. Storia cultura arte società. Una storia greca. Definizione*, a cura di S. Settis, Torino 1997, II, 2, p. 23, l'identità ellenica sarebbe «piuttosto un frutto di elaborazione intellettuale maturatosi ad Atene in età cimoniana e poi ribadita, in senso paraetnologico, nei circoli sofisticheggianti di età periclea, ad uso della propaganda egemonistica ateniese».

<sup>54</sup> E' possibile riconoscere la paura dei Greci e, in particolare, degli Spartani di allontanarsi dalla loro città dall'affermazione di Erodoto VIII 132.3, secondo il quale essi erano convinti che Samo «fosse lontana quanto le colonne d'Eracle». Cf. anche Diodoro XI 50, secondo il quale gli Spartani erano restii ad uscire dal Peloponneso.

<sup>55</sup> Cf. A.B. BOSWORTH, *op. cit.* (n. 10), I, p. 127, il quale si chiede se Tolemeo e Aristobulo, fonti di Arriano per la notizia e il testo dell'iscrizione, possano dipendere dall'opera di Callistene, ma non adduce argomenti a sostegno della sua ipotesi.

<sup>56</sup> Su Callistene, vd. H. BERVE, *op. cit.* (n. 6), II, nr. 408, p. 191-199; L. PEARSON, *The Lost Histories of Alexander the Great*, New York 1960 (*Philological Monographs publ. by The American Philological Association*, 20), p. 22-49; P. PÉDECH, *Historiens*

era pregna di simbologie e richiami alle guerre persiane, che avevano suggellato la superiorità dei Greci vittoriosi sui barbari.

E' possibile rintracciare un richiamo simbolico alle guerre persiane in un frammento delle Ἀλεξάνδρου πράξεις, tramandato da Eustazio, nel quale Callistene scrive che il mare della Panfilia, nonostante non si fosse aperto gioioso all'arrivo di Alessandro, tuttavia si sollevò, come per aprirgli una strada (ὥς ἐν ὁδοποιῖα)<sup>57</sup>, comprendendo il valore della spedizione che il re stava portando avanti; e, come se riconoscesse il suo ἄναξ, si curvò davanti a lui e, in un certo qual modo, sembrò fargli la προσκύνησις<sup>58</sup>. Il mare della terra barbara ossequia, quindi, il re, vendicatore dei Greci contro i Persiani, con l'atto di sottomissione che i Persiani offrivano al Gran Re<sup>59</sup> e permette ad Alessandro un attraversamento facile e veloce. Molto probabilmente con il riferimento alla προσκύνησις lo storico intende sottolineare che proprio un mare appartenente ai territori persiani sceglie di inginocchiarsi ad un Greco come segno premonitore della prossima conquista dell'Asia<sup>60</sup>. La proscinesi è,

*compagnons d'Alexandre. Callistène, Onésicrite, Néarque, Ptolémée, Aristobule*, Paris 1984, p. 15-69 e L. PRANDI, *Callistene. Uno storico tra Aristotele e i re macedoni*, Milano 1985, p. 11-111; cf. K. MEISTER, *La storiografia greca. Dalle origini alla fine dell'Ellenismo*, Bari 1992 (= *Die griechische Geschichtsschreibung: von den Anfängen bis zum Ende des Hellenismus*, Stuttgart-Berlin-Köln 1990), p. 121-124.

<sup>57</sup> FGrHist 124 F31 (= Schol. T Eust. Hom., *Iliade* XIII 29): ὅπου γε Καλλισθένης τὸ Παμφύλιον πέλαγος Ἀλεξάνδρου παριόντος εἰ καὶ μὴ γηθόσυνον διαστήναι, ὥς ἐν ὁδοποιῖα, ἀλλ' ἐξυπαναστῆναι λέγει αἰσθόμενον οἷον τῆς ἐκεῖνου πορείας καὶ οὐδ' αὐτὸ ἀγνοῆσαι τὸν ἄνακτα, ἵνα ἐν τῷ ὑποκυρτοῦσθαί πως δοκῇ προσκυνεῖν. Da una ricerca nel ThLG informatico è emerso che il sostantivo ὁδοποιῖα è attestato solamente tre volte: oltre che in Eustazio (*Commentarii ad Homeri Iliadem*, commento dei versi 27-29 del libro XIII) che cita Callistene, in Senofonte (*Ciropedia* VI 2.36) e in Plutarco (*Vite di Tiberio e Caio Gracco* 28.1).

<sup>58</sup> Nel racconto di Callistene si allude ad un passo omerico (*Iliade* XIII 26-30) nel quale Poseidone, desideroso di portare aiuto agli Achei, si reca nel suo palazzo e, poi, attraversa il mare che gioioso si apre davanti a lui. L. PRANDI, *op. cit.* (n. 56), p. 81-82, osserva che, nella versione di Callistene, il mare si solleva e non si apre al passaggio di Alessandro, perché lo storico reinterpreta il passo omerico adattandolo alla situazione vissuta dal giovane re, il quale sta percorrendo la costa frustata dalle onde, per cui il mare, per lasciare asciutto il cammino, si solleva.

<sup>59</sup> Cf. A.B. BOSWORTH, *Alessandro Magno. L'uomo e il suo impero*, Milano 2004 (= *Conquest and Empire: the Reign of Alexander the Great*, Cambridge 1988), p. 390.

<sup>60</sup> Non bisogna dimenticare che anche altri frammenti di Callistene andavano in questo senso, come quando scriveva che Alessandro, durante il cammino verso l'oasi di Siwah, persosi nel deserto per una tempesta di sabbia, fu tratto in salvo da un improvviso temporale e da due corvi che gli indicavano la strada; che una sorgente dell'oasi cominciò a zampillare; che a Menfi i responsi oracolari predissero la vittoria del re ad Arbela, la morte di Dario e la ribellione in Grecia, a Sparta (F 14).

quindi, parte integrante del passo di Callistene<sup>61</sup> e non è un'aggiunta dello scoliasta<sup>62</sup> che aveva tramandato il frammento.

La lettura del frammento trádito da Eustazio aiuta a cogliere un probabile riferimento a Callistene in un capitolo della *Vita di Alessandro* di Plutarco, il quale, subito dopo il racconto della battaglia al Granico, riflette sul fatto che la rapida marcia attraverso la Panfilia fornì «a molti storici», πολλοῖς [...] τῶν ἱστορικῶν, argomenti per racconti fantastici di interventi divini, come quando scrissero che il mare si ritirò dinanzi ad Alessandro per l'intervento di un dio. Subito dopo il biografo, come per supportare la sua opinione, scrive che lo stesso Alessandro «nelle lettere», ἐν ταῖς ἐπιστολαῖς, smentisce i racconti fantastici relativi al suo passaggio attraverso la Panfilia: dice, invece, di essere partito da Faselide e di aver percorso la cosiddetta Scala, ὁδοποιῆσαί φησι τὴν λεγομένην Κλίμακα καὶ διελθεῖν ὁρμήσας ἐκ Φασηλίδος (17.6 e 8)<sup>63</sup>. Nelle parole di Alessandro, riportate da Plutarco, il ricordo della città di Faselide potrebbe essere letto come un richiamo simbolico alle guerre persiane e alla spedizione di vendetta contro i barbari. Proprio Faselide, infatti, era la città attraverso la quale passava la linea di confine che delimitava i territori appartenenti ai Persiani dalle città autonome dell'Asia Minore, secondo la suddivisione delle zone di influenza sancita nel 449 dalla pace di Callia<sup>64</sup>: procedendo verso l'interno dell'Asia Minore, Alessandro supera, quindi, il confine dell'impero persiano<sup>65</sup>.

<sup>61</sup> Cf. A.B. BOSWORTH, *op. cit.* (n. 10), I, p. 165.

<sup>62</sup> Vd. L. PRANDI, *op. cit.* (n. 56), p. 98. Qualche tempo prima, L. PEARSON, *op. cit.* (n. 56), p. 37, aveva già avanzato questa ipotesi, anche se non ne era totalmente convinto.

<sup>63</sup> Per la descrizione del sentiero roccioso sulla costa orientale della Licia, pericoloso perché spesso battuto da onde violente, vd. W. RUGE, in *RE* XI (1921), col. 845-846, s.v. *Klimax* (3) e F. STARK, *Alexander's March from Miletus to Phrygia*, *JHS* 78 (1958), p. 115-118. La voce manca in M. GRANT, *op. cit.* (n. 33).

<sup>64</sup> Diodoro XII 4.5 (cf. Isocrate, *Panegirico* 118), scrive che tutte le città greche d'Asia Minore dovevano essere autonome, i satrapi non dovevano avvicinarsi al mare per meno di tre giorni di marcia e nessuna nave da guerra persiana poteva navigare lungo le coste in prossimità di Faselide o delle isole Ciane; gli Ateniesi non dovevano inviare truppe nel territorio sottoposto al controllo del Re. Plutarco, *Vita di Cimone* 13.4, riporta un passo di Callistene, *FGrHist* 124 F16, tratto secondo Jacoby dalle *Elleniche* (vd. F. JACOBY, *Kommentar*, II BD, p. 422), nel quale si legge che i barbari accettarono le condizioni imposte dalla pace di Callia solo per la paura che la sconfitta inflitta da Cimone suscitava ancora in loro. Sulla pace di Callia, vd. C. SCHRADER, *La paz de Calias. Testimonios e interpretacion*, Barcelona 1976 e E. BADIAN, *The Peace of Callias*, *JHS* 107 (1987), p. 1-39.

<sup>65</sup> Cf. A.B. BOSWORTH, *op. cit.* (n. 10), I, p. 165.

L'esclusione nell'epigrafe degli Spartani, anche grazie all'interpretazione del racconto di Callistene nel frammento 31 riguardo alla proscinesi del mare, rientra a buon diritto nell'ideologia del richiamo da parte di Alessandro alle guerre persiane, in particolare alla battaglia di Maratona: la battaglia del Granico, infatti, è la prima combattuta da Alessandro contro i Persiani, come la prima battaglia delle guerre persiane è Maratona, alla quale, appunto, gli Spartani non parteciparono. Il fatto, poi, che Plutarco, prima di riportare l'iscrizione, la spieghi con la volontà di Alessandro di «condividere la vittoria con i Greci, in particolare con gli Ateniesi», κοινοῦμενος δὲ τὴν νίκην τοῖς Ἑλλήσιν, ἰδίᾳ μὲν τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, costituisce un altro forte elemento a favore del richiamo all'avvenimento epocale degli inizi del V secolo, dal momento che la battaglia di Maratona è sempre descritta come una vittoria tutta ateniese. A questo punto è forse possibile sostenere che le parole che precedono la citazione dell'epigrafe in Plutarco appartengono anch'esse a Callistene, così come ho ipotizzato per il testo dell'iscrizione<sup>66</sup>.

La tradizione storiografica su Alessandro continua a fornire, anche dopo la vittoria del Granico, una lettura della spedizione in Asia ricca di richiami ideologici alle guerre persiane: Arriano (*Anabasi* II 14.4-9) e Curzio Rufo (IV 1.10-14) tramandano una lettera che risale al periodo immediatamente successivo alla vittoria di Isso di Alessandro e alla fuga del Gran Re<sup>67</sup>, in cui Alessandro in risposta ad una lettera di Dario ricorda al re persiano, biasimandolo, il suo tentativo di corruzione delle città greche, rifiuta le offerte di pace e accusa i Persiani dell'invasione della Grecia e della Macedonia, unificando il passaggio di Mardonio in Macedonia nel 492, la spedizione navale contro Nasso, Eretria e Atene terminata con la battaglia di Maratona e la seconda spedizione persiana segnata dalla conquista dell'Attica; e, soprattutto, per la prima volta dichiara apertamente che la sua è una guerra di vendetta per le offese ricevute dai Greci in passato.

E' interessante notare che, durante le due guerre persiane, la Macedonia non era mai stata invasa, ma che i Macedoni si erano sottomessi volontariamente, τὰ γὰρ ἐντὸς Μακεδόνων ἔθνεα πάντα σφι ἤδη ἦν ὑποχείρια γεγονότα<sup>68</sup>, già nel corso della prima spedizione; molto

<sup>66</sup> Vd. *supra*, p. 46-47.

<sup>67</sup> Pochi mesi dopo, secondo Arriano, *Anabasi* II 18.1, ebbe inizio l'assedio della città fenicia di Tiro che si concluse nell'agosto del 332.

<sup>68</sup> Erodoto VI 43-44 e, in particolare, 44.1.

probabilmente, nelle parole di Alessandro vi era l'intenzione di assolvere tutta la Macedonia dalle colpe dei suoi antenati<sup>69</sup>. Per quanto riguarda l'invasione della Grecia al tempo di Serse, nella versione della lettera seguita da Curzio Rufo, Alessandro con enfasi retorica non ricorda che Mardonio aveva conquistato l'Attica dopo la battaglia di Salamina<sup>70</sup> e che l'unica città saccheggiata e bruciata era stata Atene<sup>71</sup>, ma scrive che più città erano state devastate, saccheggiate e incendiate: *rursus Xerxes gentis eiusdem ad oppugnandos nos cum immanium barbarorum copiis venit; qui navali proelio victus Mardonium tamen reliquit in Graecia, ut absens quoque popularetur urbes, agros ureret*. Si può ancora osservare che, sempre nella lettera che si legge in Curzio Rufo, è ricordata solo la battaglia navale di Salamina, una vittoria tutta ateniese nella tradizione antica<sup>72</sup>, mentre non sono affatto ricordate altre battaglie importanti come quella delle Termopile, nella quale si distinsero gli Spartani<sup>73</sup>.

La lettera, quasi sicuramente, non è autentica, ma potrebbe essere stata ugualmente elaborata al tempo di Alessandro, essere frutto della propaganda della cerchia reale e risalire persino a Callistene, che ricoprirebbe a pieno diritto il ruolo di consigliere di Alessandro nella comunicazione<sup>74</sup> e che, avendo come punto di partenza l'offerta di riscatto e di pace da parte del Gran Re, trasformò la risposta negativa di Alessandro arricchendola con la affermazione del suo ruolo di campione dei Greci e del suo diritto di assumere il ruolo di re dell'Asia<sup>75</sup>.

<sup>69</sup> Vd. *supra*, p. 37-38.

<sup>70</sup> Erodoto VIII 100-101; IX 2-4; cf. Giustino II 13.

<sup>71</sup> Erodoto VIII 50-54; IX 13.

<sup>72</sup> Vd. Tuciddide I 74.1-2. Ma Erodoto (VIII 43-48) fornisce l'elenco dei popoli che fornivano navi a Salamina: Spartani, Corinzi, Sicioni, Epidauri, Trezeni, Ermionei, Ateniesi («con 180 navi, da soli»), Megaresi, Ambraciotti, Leucadii, Egineti, Calcidesi, Eretriesi, Cei, Nassi, Stirei, Citni, Serifi, Sifni, Meli e Crotoniati, con una nave comandata da Faillo.

<sup>73</sup> Anche in altri punti della lettera, l'Alessandro di Curzio Rufo si distacca lievemente dall'Alessandro di Arriano da momento che, addirittura, ricorda le offese ricevute dagli Ioni da parte dei Persiani sin dall'epoca della rivolta: il Dario da cui egli aveva preso il nome, infatti, aveva devastato i territori occupati dai Greci lungo l'Ellesponto e la Ionia; vd. Erodoto VI 18-22.1.

<sup>74</sup> Mutuo un'espressione usata da P. BRIANT, *Histoire de l'empire perse de Cyrus à Alexandre*, Paris 1996, p. 790, il quale asserisce che Alessandro ed i suoi 'conseillers en communication' cercarono, attraverso la lettera, frutto della propaganda macedone, di «légitimer les prétentions impériales du roi macédonien». Lo studioso, però, non fa il nome né di Callistene né di altri storici contemporanei di Alessandro.

<sup>75</sup> Vd. A.B. BOSWORTH, *op. cit.* (n. 10), vol. I, p. 232-233.



Alessandro non tralasciò nemmeno in seguito di richiamare le guerre persiane e di costringere gli Spartani ad essere ricordati non per il loro valore, ma per le loro reiterate assenze. In Plutarco, *Vita di Alessandro* 34.2, ad esempio, si legge che, dopo la battaglia di Gaugamela e la sua acclamazione come re dell'Asia, Alessandro, desideroso di guadagnare onori presso i Greci, inviò loro una lettera per annunciare che, in seguito alla sua vittoria, tutte le tirannidi erano state abolite e che le città si potevano governare autonomamente; in particolare, scrisse ai Plateesi promettendo che avrebbe ricostruito la loro città perché i loro padri avevano dato ai Greci parte del loro territorio, dove combattere per la loro libertà<sup>76</sup>. Nell'annuncio dell'abolizione delle tirannidi si potrebbe vedere un riferimento implicito al comportamento degli Spartani, dal momento che, pur essendo divenuti i *prostatai* di tutta la Grecia dopo la vittoria nella guerra del Peloponneso, in seguito alla battaglia di Cunassa e alla morte di Ciro, non erano stati in grado di assicurare l'autonomia alle città greche d'Asia Minore<sup>77</sup> e, successivamente, favorendo la stipula della pace di Antalcida, ne avevano addirittura sancito la loro appartenenza al Gran Re<sup>78</sup>. La promessa che Alessandro fece ai Plateesi ha un significato ancora più forte ed è interessante notare che li ringrazia non per qualcosa che avevano fatto per lui, per suo padre o per la Macedonia, ma per qualcosa che risaliva alle guerre persiane: ora che egli ha vendicato i Greci e ha sconfitto i Persiani, intende ricambiare quelle azioni delle quali i Greci, di cui ora è lui l'ἡγεμὼν<sup>79</sup>, avevano beneficiato all'epoca delle spedizioni persiane<sup>80</sup>.

<sup>76</sup> Era stato l'oracolo di Delfi a consigliare di combattere la battaglia sul territorio di Platea, che però doveva essere di proprietà degli Ateniesi. Per questo motivo, i Plateesi deliberarono di eliminare il confine di Platea verso l'Attica e di donare il terreno agli Ateniesi (Plutarco, *Vita di Aristide* 11.3-9).

<sup>77</sup> Vd. Senofonte, *Elleniche* III 1.3.

<sup>78</sup> Vd. Senofonte, *Elleniche* V 1.31; Diodoro XIV 110.3.

<sup>79</sup> Vd. Plutarco, *Vita di Alessandro* 14.1.

<sup>80</sup> Il ruolo particolare ricoperto dagli Ateniesi che ricevono il bottino del Granico e quello ricoperto dai Plateesi che sono beneficiari della promessa di Alessandro, è sottolineato in Plutarco dallo stesso avverbio: ἰδίᾳ. La gratitudine di Alessandro si manifesta, inoltre, nei confronti dei Crotoniati ai quali dona parte del bottino per onorare il coraggio e la virtù dell'atleta Faillo che aveva armato una nave a sue spese con la quale aveva partecipato alla battaglia di Salamina (Plutarco, *Vita di Alessandro* 34.3; vd. S. CAGNAZZI, *Un atleta di Crotone a Salamina*, in AA. VV., *Ventesima Miscellanea Greca e Romana*, Roma 1996, p. 11-19).

Ad Alessandro è attribuito ancora un altro gesto che richiama il conflitto persiano: Plutarco non ne parla, lo tramandano Arriano e Plinio<sup>81</sup>. Il re, stabilitosi nella città di Susa, si impadronì del tesoro reale<sup>82</sup>; furono recuperati anche molti oggetti, sottratti da Serse durante la spedizione persiana, tra i quali c'erano le statue di bronzo di Armodio e Aristogitone che furono restituite ad Atene<sup>83</sup>. Il gesto è molto significativo nell'ottica della vendetta contro i Persiani: egli si impadronisce del tesoro, ma restituisce ad Atene ciò che il Gran Re aveva indebitamente sottratto. Con questo gesto Alessandro non era intenzionato a respingere l'accusa, spesso rivoltagli da molte città greche e dall'oratoria ateniese, di comportarsi da tiranno<sup>84</sup>, bensì, molto probabilmente, intendeva ancora una volta alludere negativamente a Sparta che aveva ospitato Ippia e, inoltre, imposto ad Atene il governo dei Trenta.

Anche l'incendio del palazzo di Persepoli<sup>85</sup> fa parte del piano di vendetta nei confronti dei barbari, secondo alcuni storici<sup>86</sup>. Durante un banchetto, al quale partecipavano anche delle donne, una certa Taide, la

<sup>81</sup> Arriano, *Anabasi* III 16.7-8 e VII 19.2; Plinio, *Naturalis Historia* XXXIV 69-70.

<sup>82</sup> Arriano, *Anabasi* III 16.7, tramanda che il tesoro constava di 50.000 talenti d'argento e Curzio Rufo V 2. 11, aggiunge che l'argento era conservato in lingotti grezzi; Diodoro XVII 66.12, invece, ricorda 40.000 talenti d'oro e d'argento non coniatati e, in più, 9.000 talenti di oro coniato in forma di «darici»: la testimonianza concorda con il frammento di Policlito di Larissa (*FGrHist* 128 F3a), dove si legge che nel tesoro di Susa la maggior parte dell'oro e dell'argento non era coniato ma utilizzata per suppellettili e che la restante parte era coniato di volta in volta in base alla necessità; Plutarco, *Vita di Alessandro* 36.1, tramanda le stesse cifre e specifica che i talenti erano coniatati; anche Giustino XI 14.9, parla di 40.000 talenti, ma non specifica se erano coniatati, se erano di oro o argento. Tra gli altri oggetti preziosi Plutarco, *Vita di Alessandro* 36.2, scrive che fu trovata della porpora di Ermione, porto dell'Argolide, per un valore di 5.000 talenti, conservata da centonovanta anni, ma che aveva conservato il suo colore fresco e vivo, perché immersa nel miele.

<sup>83</sup> Il gruppo, che celebrava Armodio e Aristogitone uccisori di Ipparco, figlio di Pisistrato e fratello del tiranno Ippia (vd. Erodoto V 55-56; VI 123.2; Tucidide I 20.2; VI 54-59; Aristotele, *Costituzione degli Ateniesi* 18), era opera di Antenore e risaliva al 510, quando Ippia era stato cacciato da Atene (Plinio, *Naturalis Historia* XXXIV 17). Portato via da Serse nel 480, fu sostituito da un secondo gruppo ad opera di Crizio e di Nesiole, nel 477/476: vd. E. STEIN-HÖLKESKAMP, in *DNP*, vol. I (1996), col. 1109-1110, s.v. *Aristogeiton* (1). Vd. contra M. MOGGI, *I furti di statue attribuiti a Serse e le relative sostituzioni*, *ASNP* III 1 (1973), p. 1-42, il quale non crede che Serse abbia portato via statue dalla Grecia, bensì vede la notizia come un'invenzione successiva.

<sup>84</sup> Questa l'ipotesi sostenuta da M. MOGGI, *art. cit.* (n. 83), p. 13-23.

<sup>85</sup> Altra residenza dei re achemenidi insieme a Susa, Babilonia e Ecbatana. Per la descrizione del palazzo, vd. H.J. NISSEN, in *DNP*, vol. IX (2000), col. 603-605, s.v. *Persepolis*.

<sup>86</sup> Plutarco, *Vita di Alessandro* 38.8.

cortigiana più apprezzata, nativa di Atene e amante di Tolemeo<sup>87</sup>, disse che trovarsi nel palazzo dei re persiani la ripagava delle pene che aveva dovuto subire vagando per l'Asia, ma che avrebbe preferito ancora di più andare ad incendiare la casa (οἶκον) di Serse che, tempo addietro, aveva dato alle fiamme Atene. Alessandro si lasciò trasportare dall'entusiasmo dei suoi compagni di banchetto e diede alle fiamme il palazzo; si pentì, però, immediatamente e fece spegnere l'incendio<sup>88</sup>. Plutarco, però, riporta anche una tradizione anonima secondo la quale l'incendio sarebbe stato intenzionale, ἀπὸ γνώμης<sup>89</sup>: lo scopo del re era punire i Persiani e vendicare l'incendio dell'Acropoli di Atene<sup>90</sup>. Il suo era l'atto conclusivo della spedizione di vendetta contro i barbari invasori della Grecia.

L'analisi dell'epigrafe che celebrava la vittoria al Granico e dei gesti di Alessandro successivi al Granico da me ricordati in questo lavoro, evidenziano che il giovane re, escludendo dalla dedica gli Spartani, intendeva inviare un messaggio "subliminale" ai Greci: egli aveva vinto al Granico, come gli Ateniesi, senza gli Spartani, avevano vinto a Maratona<sup>91</sup>.

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<sup>87</sup> Ateneo XIII 576 d-e, scrive che, dopo la morte di Alessandro, Taide sposò Tolemeo, figlio di Lago e fondatore della dinastia dei Tolemei in Egitto, dal quale ebbe tre figli, Leontisco, Lago e Irene. Sulla donna, vd. H. BERVE, *op. cit.* (n. 6), II, nr. 359, p. 175.

<sup>88</sup> Plutarco, *Vita di Alessandro* 38 fine.

<sup>89</sup> Potrebbe esserci anche Callistene tra gli storici che compaiono anonimi nel racconto di Plutarco, i quali presentano l'azione del re come mirata a vendicare gli incendi dei Persiani in Grecia e non come un gesto fortuito, derivante dagli eccessi nel bere. Vd. anche *supra*, p. 47-48 e nota 60. Per Callistene come fonte del racconto dell'incendio a Persepoli, vd. H. BERVE, *op. cit.* (n. 6), II, nr. 359, p. 175; J. KAERST, *Geschichte des Hellenismus*, I, *Die Grundlegung des Hellenismus*, Stuttgart 1968<sup>3</sup>, p. 403-404; *contra* J.R. HAMILTON, *op. cit.* (n. 1), p. 100, che considera l'ipotesi «uncertain». Riassume le posizioni dei vari studiosi riguardo all'episodio dell'incendio ed alle fonti, A.B. BOSWORTH, *op. cit.* (n. 10), I, p. 330-332.

<sup>90</sup> Plutarco, *Vita di Alessandro* 38.4. Cf. Erodoto VIII 53.

<sup>91</sup> La vittoria di Maratona è enfatizzata dalle fonti, in particolare da Erodoto (IX 27.5), come una vittoria solo ateniese, anche se vi era stato un importante apporto da parte di mille Plateesi (VI 108.6; 111.1; 113.1). Sulle omissioni di Erodoto e sul suo rapporto con le altre tradizioni storico-letterarie, vd. S. CAGNAZZI, *Tradizioni su Dati, comandante persiano a Maratona*, *Chiron* 29 (1999), p. 371-393 ed EAD., *Arcieri Cretesi a Salamina*, *AncSoc* 33 (2003), p. 23-34.

## ‘NECTANÉBO-LE-FAUCON’ ET LA DYNASTIE LAGIDE

*Abstract:* ‘Nectanebo the falcon’ and the Ptolemaic dynasty:

The cult of Nectanebo II is well documented in the Ptolemaic period. As is clear from Egyptian source material, the clergy of his cult functioned continuously from the XXXth Dynasty to the end of the 3rd century BC at least. In the Alexander romance Nectanebo also appears as father of the conqueror. The present paper investigates the link between the memory of the king and the Ptolemaic royal cult.

«Voici donc mon père et je suis son fils» déclare Alexandre en embrassant la statue de Nectanébo d’après le pseudo-Callisthène (I 34.5). Ce récit témoigne de l’intérêt conjoint du clergé memphite et du pouvoir grec dans l’établissement d’une telle filiation. Aux premiers, elle permet de maintenir la fiction de la continuité du pouvoir pharaonique, au second elle fournit une onction de légitimité<sup>1</sup>. Si le *Roman d’Alexandre* ne peut être considéré comme une source historique, d’autres documents dûment datés montre que les Macédoniens ont voulu se rattacher aux souverains de l’époque dynastique.

Au début de la période macédonienne, Ptolémée dans la ‘stèle du satrape’ se place déjà dans la continuité de l’éphémère Chababash dont il confirme les donations aux temples<sup>2</sup>. Le même Ptolémée, devenu roi, est associé, dans la chapelle rupestre de Min à Panopolis, à plusieurs de ses prédécesseurs égyptiens: à Sésostris I, en portant le même nom de Kheperkâre<sup>3</sup>, et à Thoutmosis III dont la figure a été incluse dans la

<sup>1</sup> La structure du passage met en valeur cet intérêt conjoint: ce sont les prêtres de Ptah qui, de façon détournée en rapportant un ancien oracle, évoquent le lien entre Nectanébo II et Alexandre avec la réapparition du roi égyptien sous la forme d’un jeune homme qui soumet à son autorité les Perses. Cette évocation est immédiatement reprise et interprétée par Alexandre afin de conforter son autorité.

<sup>2</sup> «Toute l’étendue de ce pays qu’avait donné le roi Chababash, le seigneur des deux pays (...), le gouverneur d’Egypte Ptolémée en a renouvelé la donation aux dieux de Pé et Tep à perpétuité» (traduction E. BEVAN, *Histoires des Lagides*, Paris 1934, p. 46-49). Sur Chababash, à qui la tradition ptolémaïque prête une action anti-perses dans le Delta, voir A. SPALINGER, *The Reign of King Chababash: an Interpretation*, ZÄS 105 (1978), p. 142-154; S.M. BURSTEIN, *Prelude to Alexander: the Reign of Khababash*, AHB 14 (2000), p. 149-154.

<sup>3</sup> Voir K.P. KUHLMANN, *Ptolemais. The Demise of a Spurious Queen (A propos JE 43610)*, dans H. GUKSCH et D. POLZ (edd.), *Stationen: Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte Ägyptens. Fs. Stadelmann*, Mayence 1998, p. 471-472; en effet, Kheperkarê est le prénom de Sésostris I «who (...) was regarded in classical times as a conqueror of all Asia as far as Bactria».

décoration ptolémaïque de la chapelle<sup>4</sup>. C'est à ce même Thoutmosis III qu'Alexandre le Grand est associé dans la chapelle de l'Akhmenou à Karnak<sup>5</sup>. Quelle place peut occuper la figure de Nectanébo dans cette recherche de références pharaoniques? Ce souverain ne peut se targuer de grands succès, notamment militaires<sup>6</sup>. En revanche, il est le chaînon indispensable pour relier les rois macédoniens aux rois égyptiens. L'importance de la figure de ce roi peut être comprise par l'étude de son culte à l'époque ptolémaïque.

Le culte du dernier Nectanébide a fait l'objet d'études qui ont permis d'établir la traduction du titre de «prophète de Nectanébo-le-Faucon» et de dresser la liste de ses desservants<sup>7</sup>. Bien que la majorité de ces prêtres soient contemporains de l'époque macédonienne<sup>8</sup>, la mention, dans les inscriptions privées, du titre de prophète de Nectanébo II a été retenue comme critère pour placer sous la XXX<sup>ème</sup> dynastie si ce n'est le monument lui-même, au moins la carrière du dédicant ou les événements rapportés. C'est le cas pour le Thébain Amasis, fils de Smendès<sup>9</sup>. K. Jansen-Winkeln, outre la reconstitution de liens familiaux<sup>10</sup> et un argument stylistique<sup>11</sup>, s'appuie sur le fait que «*J'h-msjw* eine Funktion im

<sup>4</sup> H. KEES, *Das Felsheiligtum des Min bei Achmim*, *RecTrav* 3 (1914), p. 51-56.

<sup>5</sup> Voir P. BARGUET, *Le temple d'Amon-Rê à Karnak. Essai d'exégèse* (RAPH, 21), Le Caire 1962, p. 194-195.

<sup>6</sup> Cependant, pour ce qui est de la défaite contre les Perses, selon J. RAY, *Reflexions of Osiris*, Londres 2001, p. 127, «it is likely that Nectanebo himself was exonerated; he had become too romantic and too important a figure in Ptolemaic Egypt, to be permanently associated with failure in this way».

<sup>7</sup> Voir J. YOYOTTE, *Nectanébo II comme faucon divin?*, *Kémi* 15 (1959), p. 70-74, en particulier p. 73 pour la traduction du titre, et H. DE MEULENAERE, *Les monuments du culte des rois Nectanébo*, *CE* 35 (1960), p. 92-107.

<sup>8</sup> Voir J. YOYOTTE, *art. cit.*, p. 70: «La plupart des exemples [de prophète de Nectanébo II] qui nous sont parvenus, sont assurément postérieurs à la mort des derniers pharaons indigènes».

<sup>9</sup> Le personnage est connu par la statue Caire JE 37075, publiée par H.W. FAIRMAN, *A Statue from the Karnak Cache*, *JEA* 20 (1934), p. 1-4.

<sup>10</sup> K. Jansen-Winkeln fait de *P3-hr-Hnsw*, frère d'Amasis, le père du propriétaire de la statue Caire JE 36 579, datée d'avant 238 d'après la mention des quatre phylai. Or, seul le nom de *P3-hr-Hnsw* est commun aux inscriptions liées à Amasis et à celle de la statue JE 36 579. De plus, en acceptant cette hypothèse, que nous avons déjà discuté (voir *Les relations du clergé égyptien et des Lagides d'après les sources privées* [*Studia Hellenistica*, 45], Louvain 2009, p. 72, n. 184; *Les élites sacerdotales d'Hermopolis et le pouvoir gréco-macédonien*, *CRIPEL* 29 (2010)), un décalage de génération ne pourrait-il pas permettre à Amasis de faire carrière après 246 en ayant un neveu actif avant 238?

<sup>11</sup> La statue d'Amasis a été datée de la fin du IV<sup>ème</sup> siècle, notamment par B. VON BOTHMER, *ESLP* 66, 103, 128. Cette datation est également celle d'H. DE MEULENAERE, *CE* 34 (1959), p. 248-249.

Kult Nektanebos'II. hatte, ist es aber wahrscheinlicher, daß mit seiner Aktion die Restaurationen im Namen Nektanebo's II. gemeint sind»<sup>12</sup>. Cette analyse se rapproche de celle déjà formulée par H. De Meulenaere qui, après avoir démontré le lien entre les statues de Nectanébo-le-faucon et la commémoration des (re)constructions entrepris par Nectanébo II, identifie le chantier mené par Amasis aux travaux du Nectanébide dans le temple de Chonsou<sup>13</sup>.

L'utilisation du titre de prophète de Nectanébo II comme argument pour une datation sous la XXX<sup>ème</sup> dynastie est cependant problématique. Amasis est ainsi par ailleurs considéré comme un contemporain de Ptolémée III<sup>14</sup>. Le titre se retrouve en effet, au cours de l'époque ptolémaïque, dans des documents bien datés comme l'a déjà souligné H. De Meulenaere, notamment pour ce qui est de la documentation memphite<sup>15</sup>. C'est le cas de l'inscription hiéroglyphique funéraire du grand prêtre de Ptah Annôs, mort en 217 av. J.-C<sup>16</sup>., et de l'inscription funéraire démotique d'un autre pontife memphite, Psenptais, contemporain de Ptolémée Aulète, qui est dit *hm-ntr twtw Nht-nb.f p3 bik*, «prophète des statues de Nectanébo-le-faucon»<sup>17</sup>. Ces exemples, attestent que le souvenir de

<sup>12</sup> K. JANSEN-WINKELN, *Biographische und religiöse Inschriften der Spätzeit aus dem ägyptischen Museum Kairo* (ÄAT, 45), Wiesbaden 2001, p. 200-201.

<sup>13</sup> Voir CE 35 (1960), p. 99-100, pour le lien entre l'érection des statues de Nectanébo-le-faucon et la commémoration des travaux entrepris par le souverain et, p. 101, pour l'identification et la datation des travaux dirigés par Amasis. H. De Meulenaere confirme cette datation dans une publication à paraître d'après une communication personnelle faite à L. Coulon, voir *REgypt* 57 (2006), p. 16 n. 40.

<sup>14</sup> Voir J. QUAEGBEUR, *The Egyptian Clergy and the Cult of the Ptolemaic Dynasty*, *AncSoc* 20 (1989), p. 111 et *A la recherche du haut clergé thébain à l'époque gréco-romaine*, dans S.P. VLEEMING (ed.), *Hundred-Gated Thebes. Acts of a Colloquium on Thebes and the Theban Area in the Graeco-Roman Period* (P.L. Bat., XXVII), Leyde 1995, p. 147 et 149.

Cette datation est également retenue par Ph. DERCHAIN, *La justice à la porte d'Evergète*, dans *Ägyptologische Tempeltagung, Systeme und Programme der ägyptischen Tempeldekoration* (Hamburg, 1-5 Juni 1994), Wiesbaden 1995, p. 1-12.

<sup>15</sup> Voir H. DE MEULENAERE, CE 35 (1960), p. 99.

<sup>16</sup> La souscription démotique de la stèle Vienne 153 indique que le personnage est mort en 217.

<sup>17</sup> Stèle démotique *Ashm. St.* 1971/18, début de la ligne 8. Le document a été publié par E. REYMOND, *From the Records of a Priestly Family from Memphis* (ÄA, 38), Wiesbaden 1981, p. 153-162. Les graphies du fac-similé de l'auteur ressemblent peu à celles de la stèle d'après la planche XI. Cependant dans le cas de ce titre la lecture est possible en se basant directement sur la photo. Le début du titre apparaît clairement, seul *bik* est en partie en lacune. Ce titre se retrouve également sur la stèle de son épouse Taimouthès (*BM* 377, fin de la ligne 17) édité par E. Reymond, p. 178-194.

Nectanébo se maintient jusqu'à la fin de l'époque ptolémaïque et que sa mention dans les sources de l'époque n'est pas nécessairement due à des personnes qui auraient conservé leur position au lendemain de la conquête d'Alexandre. De plus, le fait que ce soit le pontife de Ptah, premier responsable religieux du pays<sup>18</sup>, qui desserve ce culte au premier siècle, indique qu'il n'a rien perdu de son importance. Cette pérennité amène à s'interroger sur les relations entre la dévotion pour le dernier roi de la XXX<sup>ème</sup> dynastie et les rites mis en place pour les souverains gréco-macédoniens.

Nous proposons de reprendre les attestations des prêtres Nectanébo II sous les Lagides. Les exemples se répartissent au cours de la période de la façon suivante<sup>19</sup>:

– Début de l'époque hellénistique<sup>20</sup>:

**a** – Un prêtre memphite, au nom indéchiffré (= De Meulenaere n° 7) connu par la stèle du Sérapeum 176, postérieur au règne de Nectanébo II selon H. De Meulenaere.

**b** – Le Coptite Sminis (*Pros. Ptol.* III/IX 6100 = De Meulenaere n° 10), pontife de Min. Le nom de son père étant associé à celui de Nectanébo II, Sminis lui-même peut être contemporain des premiers souverains Macédoniens selon J. Yoyotte (p. 71-72) et H. De Meulenaere.

– Règnes de Ptolémée Philadelphie, Évergète, Philopator:

**c** – Le Memphite Chenseus (*Pros. Ptol.* III/IX 5874 = De Meulenaere n° 4), fils du pontife de Ptah Esisout-Pétobastis (*Pros. Ptol.* III/IX 5361, 5362, 5364), mort en 249 av. J.-C., d'après l'inscription de sa stèle funéraire *BM* 375.

<sup>18</sup> Le personnage est notamment *mr ḥmw-nṯr nṯrw nbw*, «chef des prophètes de tous les dieux» et *ḥm-nṯr tpy n nb T3wy*, «premier prophète du seigneur des Deux-Terres». Il est donc à la fois à la tête du clergé pour le service des dieux et le premier responsable du culte royal.

<sup>19</sup> Pour chaque personnage nous indiquons, quand il y a lieu, le numéro de la *Pros. Ptol.* ainsi que le numéro de la recension établie par H. De Meulenaere.

<sup>20</sup> Parmi les documents datés par J. Yoyotte et H. De Meulenaere du début de l'époque hellénistique nous n'en retenons que deux. Nous n'incluons pas le n° 15 de De Meulenaere, voir J. QUAEGBEUR, *AncSoc* 20 (1989), p. 106-107 n. 85. Dans le doute, nous écartons également le propriétaire anonyme du couvercle de sarcophage Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum 481901, qui pour Yoyotte (p. 71) est contemporain des Lagides mais qui est probablement contemporain de Nectanébo II pour De Meulenaere (p. 95).

- d** – Le Memphite Annôs, pontife de Ptah (*Pros. Ptol.* III/IX 5352, 5442, 5442a = De Meulenaere n°5), mort en 217 av. J.-C., d'après l'inscription de la stèle Vienne 153.
- e** – Le Thébain Amasis (*Pros. Ptol.* III/IX 5426 = De Meulenaere n° 12), contemporain de Nectanébo II pour H. De Meulenaere et K. Jansen-Winkel, comme évoqué précédemment.
- Règnes de Ptolémée Épiphane, Philométor, Évergète II:
- f-g** – Les Memphites Esnouour (*Pros. Ptol.* III/IX 5540) et son père Onnôphris (I) (*Pros. Ptol.* III/IX 5657 = De Meulenaere n° 6). Ces deux hommes sont liés à la famille des grands prêtres de Létopolis<sup>21</sup>. Ils doivent être d'un rang moins élevé que les pontifes létopolitains tout en étant assez proche de ces derniers, comme en attestent les titres communs de *ît nṯr mr nṯr*, *sm*, *ḥm Pth*, *w'b n ḥwt-nṯr* 'Inb-Ḥd, «père divin, aimé du dieu, prêtre sem, serviteur de Ptah, prêtre pur des temples de Memphis»<sup>22</sup>.  
L'époque à laquelle ont vécu ces personnages peut être estimée. En effet, dans la stèle Louvre C 316<sup>23</sup>, le fils d'Esnouour, Onnôphris (II) (*Pros. Ptol.* III/IX 5658) est présenté à la suite du Létopolite Harimouthès (*Pros. Ptol.* III/IX 5355). En acceptant que ces deux personnages soient de la même génération, Esnouour et Onnôphris (I) seraient à leur tour contemporains du père (Hérieus, *Pros. Ptol.* III/IX 5359) et du grand-père (Amasis, *Pros. Ptol.* III/IX 5351) d'Harimouthès dont nous connaissons les dates<sup>24</sup>. Le premier est mort en 164 av. J.-C., le second en 183 av. J.-C.: les carrières

<sup>21</sup> Voir E. OTTO, *Eine memphitische Priesterfamilie des 2. Jh. v.Chr.*, ZÄS 81 (1956), p. 110. La nature de ce lien n'apparaît pas clairement («In Text 1 wird ein gewisser Wnn-nfr genannt, der offenbar nicht zur Familie gehört, dem aber die Serapeumstele 3689 [= Text 10] zugehört»). E. Otto aboutit à la construction de deux stemmata distincts.

J. QUAEGBEUR, *Documents concerning a Cult of Arsinoe Philadelphos at Memphis*, JNES 30 (1971), p. 266, note que «the portrait and mention of a priest who did not belong to the family would be quite surprising».

<sup>22</sup> Sur cette séquence qui se retrouve aussi dans la titulature des pontifes de Ptah, voir J. QUAEGBEUR, JNES 30 (1971), p. 252.

<sup>23</sup> E. OTTO, ZÄS 81 (1956), p. 119-120 (= doc n° 1); J. QUAEGBEUR, JNES 30 (1971), p. 252-253 (= doc n° 6).

<sup>24</sup> Selon J. QUAEGBEUR, JNES 30 (1971), p. 267, «Presumably the families of Onnôphris and Amasis are to be linked via Onnôphris son of Tamounis, PP III 5366a. In that case Onnôphris I is Amasis' brother».



d'Esnouour et de son père Onnôphris ont donc pu s'étendre du règne de Ptolémée Épiphane au début de celui d'Évergète II<sup>25</sup>.

– Règne de Ptolémée Aulète:

**h** – Le Memphite Psenptais (*Pros. Ptol.* III/IX 5376), pontife de Ptah, né en 90 av. J.-C. et mort en 41 av. J.-C. Ce personnage n'est pas recensé par J. Yoyotte et H. De Meulenaere.

Cette liste appelle deux commentaires. Le premier porte sur l'identité de ces prêtres qui sont souvent de hauts personnages occupant une place importante dans la hiérarchie sacerdotale, pourvus de responsabilité administrative et liés au pouvoir<sup>26</sup>. Le Thébain, Amasis (**e**) représente ainsi la couronne au sein des temples. A Thèbes, il est en charge des travaux de la porte d'Évergète. A Hermopolis, il remet de l'ordre dans les affaires des temples en fonction d'un ordre royal. C'est également vrai pour les pontifes de Ptah et leurs parents (**c**, **d**, **h**) qui, au début et à la fin de l'époque ptolémaïque, desservent ce culte. Cette lignée étant connue par un corpus relativement homogène et réparti tout au long de la période<sup>27</sup>, la mention du titre de Nectanébo-le-faucon chez certains de ses membres permet d'établir une chronologie assez précise de ces attestations.

Le second commentaire porte sur la répartition chronologique très inégale des mentions du culte de Nectanébo. Quatre groupes peuvent être distingués. Le premier se place du début de l'époque hellénistique (**a**, **b**). Il atteste la permanence du personnel sacerdotal aux lendemains de la conquête d'Alexandre<sup>28</sup>. Mais il ne permet pas d'établir un lien entre le culte du Nectanébide et les souverains Macédoniens, les prêtres continuant sans doute à célébrer les cultes dont ils étaient auparavant en charge.

<sup>25</sup> Pour E. OTTO, *ZÄS* 81 (1956), d'après le titre de son article, cette lignée est contemporaine de Ptolémée IV et V. On ne peut exclure qu'Onnôphris (II) soit contemporain non pas de Harimouthès mais de son père Herieus. Cela amènerait à décaler les dates d'une génération et permettrait bien ainsi de faire d'Onnôphris (I) et d'Esnouour des contemporains de Ptolémée IV et V.

<sup>26</sup> Cette situation est déjà attestée sous la XXX<sup>e</sup>me dynastie, avec des dignitaires liés au vizirat (De Meulenaere, n° 1 et 2) où à la tête de l'armée (n°3). Au début de l'époque hellénistique, c'est au moins le cas du Coptite Sminis (**b**).

<sup>27</sup> Voir E. REYMOND, *Records of a Priestly Family from Memphis* (ÄA, 38), compte-rendu de D. DEVAUCHELLE, *CE* 58 (1983), p. 137-138; C. MAYSTRE, *Les grands prêtres de Ptah de Memphis* (OBO, 113), Fribourg 1992.

<sup>28</sup> Sur ce maintien de l'héritage de la XXX<sup>e</sup>me au début de l'époque gréco-macédonienne, voir G. GORRE, *Les relations du clergé égyptien et des Lagides*, p. 495-499.

Le deuxième groupe est contemporain des règnes de Ptolémée II, III et IV (**c**, **d**, **e**). Ces personnages ne peuvent avoir connu la XXX<sup>ème</sup> dynastie et leurs titres sacerdotaux s'inscrivent bien dans le contexte de l'époque ptolémaïque. Il est intéressant de noter que les règnes des souverains Lagides qui voient le maintien du culte de Nectanébo II connaissent également l'établissement du culte dynastique<sup>29</sup>.

A la fin du III<sup>ème</sup> siècle, peut-être dans le courant du règne de Ptolémée IV, le culte du Nectanébide passe aux mains d'une famille memphite qui prend la suite des pontifes de Ptah. Il est difficile de dire si cette succession a eu lieu en 214, date de la mort d'Annô, dernier pontife de Ptah connu qui soit aussi prêtre de Nectanébo avant l'éclipse du culte, ou bien si les deux familles ont été en même temps, chacune selon ses prérogatives, responsables de ce culte. Ce changement dans l'identité des desservants amène à constituer un troisième groupe qui se terminerait vers le début du règne de Ptolémée Évergète II (**f**, **g**). Pour le restant du II<sup>ème</sup> siècle, il n'y a plus d'attestation.

Le quatrième groupe, au premier siècle, est constitué du seul pontife de Ptah Psenptais (**h**). En considérant l'identité des prêtres en fonction de leur répartition chronologique, une évolution peut être décelée. Sous les règnes de Ptolémée II, III et IV les responsables du culte de Nectanébo sont des hauts dignitaires, par ailleurs liés à la dynastie lagide (**c**, **d**, **e**). A partir de la fin du règne de Ptolémée IV et V, la famille chargée de ce culte occupe certes une place honorable dans la hiérarchie sacerdotale memphite mais sa position n'est pas comparable à celle des desservant des règnes précédents (**f**, **g**). Ce changement de main est suivi par un silence des sources. N'est-ce qu'un aléa de la documentation ou bien le signe d'un amoindrissement du prestige du culte de Nectanébo II? Si cette seconde hypothèse est retenue, ce culte n'est plus attesté au moment même où celui des Lagides est étendu à l'ensemble du clergé égyptien<sup>30</sup>.

<sup>29</sup> C'est sous Ptolémée III que le culte des Lagides apparaît fixé dans les sources égyptiennes, voir E. LANCIERS, *Die ägyptischen Priester des ptolemäischen Königskultes*, *REgypt* 42 (1991), p. 118-119 et J. QUAEGBEUR, *The Egyptian Clergy and the Cult of the Ptolemaic Dynasty*, *AncSoc* 20 (1989), p. 96-99 et 104-105. C'est seulement sous Ptolémée IV Philopator qu'on construit le Séma collectif comprenant les lieux de culte d'Alexandre et des différents souverains lagides, voir P.M. FRASER, *Ptolemaic Alexandria*, Oxford 1972, I, p. 225.

<sup>30</sup> C'est le synode des prêtres au temple d'Osiris à Canope qui ratifie en 238 l'introduction du culte des souverains dans les temples égyptiens. Cette mesure est répétée en 198, lors du synode de Memphis, ce qui pourrait indiquer qu'elle était restée lettre morte jusque là, voir S. PFEIFFER, *Das Dekret von Kanopos (238 v.Chr.). Kommentar und historische Auswertung*, Munich-Leipzig 2004, p. 234-238.

Ces remarques sont forcément d'une portée limitée du fait du petit nombre d'exemples dont nous disposons. Il paraît ainsi nécessaire d'intégrer les prêtres de Nectanébo II dans un ensemble plus vaste. Ce personnel peut être étudié en parallèle avec celui qui, à l'époque ptolémaïque, honore les souverains non seulement ceux de la dynastie grecque mais aussi les pharaons des époques dynastiques. La formulation des sacerdoces ne permet pas toujours, en effet, de distinguer ces différents cultes: le «prophète des statues» peut servir aussi bien un Lagide, vivant ou mort, qu'un Nectanébide ou bien un souverain encore plus ancien<sup>31</sup>. De plus, une même communauté de personnes dessert ces différents cultes comme l'illustre le cas de la famille des pontifes de Ptah<sup>32</sup>.

D'après les titres apparaissant dans les sources égyptiennes, deux formes du culte royal peuvent être distinguées. Dans la première, la traduction en égyptien des épiclèses royales grecques souligne le lien entre le Lagide régnant et les membres de sa lignée qui l'ont précédé. Il s'agit de l'introduction dans les temples égyptiens d'une réalité grecque. Avec la seconde, le titre de prophète des statues appartient, lui, au fonds égyptien. Il n'est pas informatif sur l'identité du roi mais sur la nature des honneurs qu'il reçoit. Il y a alors un lien implicite avec l'ensemble des rois passés grecs ou égyptiens. Ces deux formes ne sont pas exclusives l'une de l'autre et sont attestées jusqu'à la fin de l'époque ptolémaïque: le stratège Tentyrite Korax (*Pros. Ptol.* I/VIII 237) est ainsi à la fois «prophète des rois et de leurs statues, prêtre de leurs chapelles à Tentyris et Apollinopolis Magna» et «prophète des dieux Évergètes et Philopators».

<sup>31</sup> Voir J. YOYOTTE, *Kémi* 15 (1959), p. 71 n. 7: «On trouve çà et là dans les textes d'époque hellénistique la mention de 'prophète des statues' dont on ne saurait dire s'ils étaient au service du pharaon régnant ou des rois anciens». Ce culte des statues est général à l'ensemble des temples du pays: J. QUACK, *Organiser le culte idéal. Le Manuel du temple*, BSFE 160 (2004), p. 15, note qu'il est «dit expressément [dans le manuel du temple] que les images (*twtw*) des rois doivent trouver place ici [*i.e.* autour du pronaos], ce qui pourrait correspondre, par exemple, aux images de rois dans le couloir du temple de Dendera». Or, ces souverains du couloir de Dendera ne représentent pas des Lagides mais des pharaons anciens dont quelques uns sont nommés, comme Pépi I (Dendara III, 73 et 85 et V, 159).

L'ambiguïté sur l'identité des pharaons figurés par ces statues est encore plus grande pour les documents du début de la période. Pour H. DE MEULENAERE, *CE* 35 (1960), p. 99, «le rapport avec un des rois Nectanébo est à considérer. En effet, il s'agit de prêtres égyptiens assurant le service religieux dans les temples égyptiens. Il serait pour le moins étonnant qu'ils y aient rendu le culte à des souverains grecs à peine arrivés dans le pays».

<sup>32</sup> Annôs (d) est ainsi prêtre de Nectanébo, d'Arsinoé, des dieux Évergètes et Philopators. Son père Esisout-Pétobastis (*Pros. Ptol.* III/IX 5361, 5362, 5364) est lié au culte d'Arsinoé et au temple de Ramsès.

Le culte d'Arsinoé II relève de ces deux formes avec les honneurs rendus aux effigies de la souveraine et son introduction dans les temples comme déesse Philadelphie associée aux divinités locales<sup>33</sup>. Qu'en est-il pour celui des souverains anciens et, en premier lieu, de celui de Nectanébo II? N'est-il qu'un héritage «fossilisé<sup>34</sup>» de l'époque pré-macédonienne subsistant à l'installation d'une lignée étrangère sur le trône, ou bien doit-il être compris dans le contexte nouveau de la dynastie lagide?

Un élément de réponse peut être trouvé dans la comparaison des desservants de Nectanébo-le-Faucon avec ceux de la Philadelphie. Ces derniers sont plus nombreux que ceux du roi de la XXX<sup>ème</sup> dynastie<sup>35</sup>, ce qui est sans doute un signe de la popularité respective de ces deux divinités. Ils sont bien connus grâce aux études que J. Quaegebeur leur a consacrées<sup>36</sup>. Or, il y a un certain parallélisme entre la répartition chronologique et la qualité des prêtres d'Arsinoé II et de Nectanébo II. Le sacerdoce de la Philadelphie est aux mains des pontifes de Ptah jusqu'au tournant des III<sup>ème</sup> et II<sup>ème</sup> siècle. Au début du II<sup>ème</sup> siècle, il échoit aux grands prêtres de Létopolis mais dans le dernier tiers du siècle, la documentation est moins claire sur l'identité de ses titulaires<sup>37</sup>. J. Quaegebeur reste prudent sur les conclusions qu'il faut tirer de cette évolution, arguant qu'il peut s'agir du hasard lié à la conservation des sources. Pour D. Thompson, cela pourrait être le signe du déclin de l'intérêt pour une reine du III<sup>ème</sup> siècle<sup>38</sup>, phénomène qui se retrouverait avec le roi égyptien du IV<sup>ème</sup> siècle.

<sup>33</sup> Les inscriptions du Coptite Sénou (*Pros. Ptol.* III/IX 5795, V 14252, VI 14691) insiste sur l'érection des statues de la souveraine qui est l'élément fondateur de son culte, voir Ph. DERCHAIN, *Les impondérables de l'hellénisation (Monographie Reine Elisabeth, 7)*, Turnhout 2000, p. 22-31; I. GUERMEUR, *BIFAO* 103 (2003), p. 281-296 et *BO* 60 (2003), col. 327-340. De telles dispositions sont aussi attestées dans les décrets synodaux pour l'instauration du culte dynastique.

<sup>34</sup> En reprenant l'expression de C. LA'DA, *One Stone: Two Messages*, dans *XX<sup>ème</sup> Actes (Copenhague)*, p. 164, à propos du maintien, au début de l'époque romaine, d'un titre aulique ptolémaïque.

<sup>35</sup> Le corpus du clergé d'Arsinoé II comprends 16 documents, celui de Nectanébo II, 8.

<sup>36</sup> La monographie annoncée (*AncSoc* 20, 1989, p. 95 n. 12) par J. Quaegebeur en collaboration avec P. Dils n'est pas parue mais le corpus réuni par l'auteur avant sa mort est publiée dans *Documents égyptiens anciens et nouveaux relatifs à Arsinoé Philadelphie*, dans H. MELAERTS (ed.), *Le culte du souverain dans l'Égypte ptolémaïque au III<sup>ème</sup> siècle avant notre ère (Studia Hellenistica, 34)*, Louvain 1998, p. 85-106.

<sup>37</sup> Voir J. QUAEGBEUR, *JNES* 30 (1971), p. 266-267.

<sup>38</sup> Voir D. THOMPSON, *Memphis*, p. 131.

Si l'*argumentum a silentio* n'est pas décisif, il est certain, en revanche, qu'il y a un changement dans l'identité des prêtres: aux plus hauts membres du clergé qui apparaissent comme les initiateurs de ces cultes, succèdent des prêtres d'un rang moindre. Alors qu'au III<sup>ème</sup> siècle, être attaché à Nectanébo II et Arsinoé II est un signe de notabilité, au II<sup>ème</sup> siècle cela n'est plus, ou de façon moindre, le cas. Ainsi, les prêtrises dynastiques se transmettent moins fidèlement d'une génération à l'autre. Cette situation se retrouve de façon générale pour le culte royal. Elle se vérifie chez les pontifes de Ptah ainsi que dans des familles où l'ascension sociale s'accompagne de la disparition de ces charges. Le stratège memphite Dôriôn<sup>39</sup>, issu d'un milieu sacerdotal, n'hérite pas de son grand-père maternel Pétosiris<sup>40</sup> le titre de «serviteur des dieux Évergètes, Philopators et Épiphanes». Un tel déclin peut trouver une explication dans la généralisation du culte dynastique, qui perd de sa valeur honorifique à partir du moment où il est étendu à tous les prêtres du royaume. Un phénomène identique est attesté par la dévaluation de la titulature aulique provoquée par la généralisation des titres<sup>41</sup>.

La fin de l'époque ptolémaïque connaît cependant un renouveau du culte de Nectanébo II et d'Arsinoé II. La déesse Philadelphie réapparaît dans la titulature du pontife de Ptah Pétobastis, père de Psenptais prêtre de Nectanébo II (h). S'il s'agit bien de la restauration de dévotions délaissées, le succès est plus évident pour la déesse Philadelphie<sup>42</sup> que pour Nectanébo-le-Faucon qui, après avoir disparu en premier, n'est attesté qu'une seule fois au premier siècle.

Ce 'renouveau' est avant tout memphite, ce qui se vérifie pendant toute la période et pour l'essentiel de la documentation concernant Nectanébo II, Arsinoé II<sup>43</sup> ainsi que pour les mentions des souverains

<sup>39</sup> *Pros. Ptol.* I/VIII 248; III/IX 5519, 6337.

<sup>40</sup> *Pros. Ptol.* III/IX 5767.

<sup>41</sup> Voir L. MOOREN, *La hiérarchie de cour ptolémaïque* (*Studia Hellenistica*, 23), Louvain 1977, p. 36-37: «les titres perdent de leur valeur à mesure que le temps passe (...). Cette dévaluation est la conséquence de l'ambition des fonctionnaires et des concessions faites par la cour à cette ambition. Les fonctionnaires recherchent les plus hautes distinctions afin de se rapprocher le plus possible du roi et de surpasser les autres».

<sup>42</sup> J. QUAEGBEUR, *Documents relatifs à Arsinoé Philadelphie*, p. 83, émet l'hypothèse que le culte d'Arsinoé II survivrait au culte dynastique grec.

<sup>43</sup> Dans *JNES* 30 (1971), p. 239-270, Quaegebeur réunit quatorze attestations. A propos des sources memphites relatives au culte d'Arsinoé, il suggère, p. 244, note que «Memphis must have occupied a very prominent place among the cities where Arsinoe was incorporated into Egyptian cultus» ce qui s'expliquerait non pas par la richesse documentaire liée à la ville mais par «the city's historical importance as a seat of government

des époques dynastiques<sup>44</sup>. Les grands prêtres de Ptah qui, par plusieurs aspects, sont les représentants des Ptolémées dans les temples<sup>45</sup>, jouent un rôle majeur dans ces cultes. La mention de la prêtrise de Nectanébo II, ou d'un souverain encore plus ancien, ne peut donc être considérée comme un signe de nostalgie envers un pouvoir égyptien et implicitement comme l'indice d'une réticence vis-à-vis de la monarchie grecque.

En outre, Nectanébo II et Arsinoé II réapparaissent dans un contexte qui, d'après l'historiographie, se caractérise par un affaiblissement de la dynastie, caractérisé par des défaites extérieures et des querelles dynastiques incessantes à l'intérieur<sup>46</sup>. Cependant, de cette époque datent des témoignages de liens étroits avec le roi et particulièrement avec Ptolémée Aulète. Ainsi, d'après D. Thompson<sup>47</sup> le titre de *ḥm-ntr tpy n nb T3wy*, «premier prophète du seigneur des Deux-Terres» porté par le pontife Psenptais, désigne un nouveau poste créé à l'intention de Ptolémée Néos Dionysos qui, en 76, a nommé le nouveau grand-prêtre. Il s'agit de l'instauration d'un service religieux propre à ce souverain comme le montre la création d'un poste nouveau plutôt que l'incorporation de ce culte dans des prêtrises déjà existantes. Ptolémée Aulète est le premier des Ptolémées à incorporer *Théos* dans sa titulature pour un usage régulier<sup>48</sup>. Les relations entre Ptolémée Aulète et le pontife de Ptah montrent que le culte royal est d'une nature très personnelle<sup>49</sup>. Ces liens étroits entre le souverain grec et de hauts dignitaires égyptiens apparaissent également dans une série d'inscriptions tanites. Pour Chr. Zivie-Coche,

and as religious center already patronized as such by the first Ptolemies». Cette situation se retrouve pour le culte de Nectanébo puisque c'est, en grande partie, le même personnel qui dessert ces deux cultes.

<sup>44</sup> Les références des Memphites attachés aux anciens pharaons sont les suivantes: Ramsès: *Pros. Ptol.* III/IX 5361, 5351, 5677<sup>c</sup>; Snéfrou: *Pros. Ptol.* III/IX 5356, 5354; Ménès: *Pros. Ptol.* III/IX 5351, 5657; Téli: *Pros. Ptol.* III/IX 5657 (g); Mérenptah: *Pros. Ptol.* III/IX 5351, 5359.

<sup>45</sup> Voir G. GORRE, *Les relations du clergé égyptien et des Lagides*, p. 605-622.

<sup>46</sup> Voir W. HUSS, *Ägypten in hellenistischer Zeit*, Munich 2001, p. 671-702, le chapitre VIII intitulé «Der Untergang des Reiches». De même, pour E. WILL, *Histoire politique du monde hellénistique*, Nancy 1967, p. 525, «Est-il besoin de souligner que le règne de Ptolémée XII tant avant qu'après son exil ne représente en rien un redressement du pouvoir royal à l'intérieur? Les quelques données épigraphiques et papyrologiques qui nous sont parvenues révèlent que l'Égypte lagide atteint alors le point le plus bas de son histoire».

<sup>47</sup> D. THOMPSON, *Memphis*, p. 134-135.

<sup>48</sup> Voir A. BERNAND, *Les inscriptions grecques de Philae*, Paris 1969, p. 316-318.

<sup>49</sup> Voir Ph. DERCHAIN, *Le pique-nique de l'Aulète*, dans W. CLARYSSE, A. SCHOORS et H. WILLEMS (edd.), *Egyptian Religion. The Last Thousand Years. Studies dedicated to the memory of Jan Quaegebeur (OLA, 85)*, Louvain 1998, p. 1155-1167.

l'affirmation, banale en soi, que les dieux exalteront la royauté du pharaon, Ptolémée Aulète, prend ici un relief singulier. En effet, rares sont les statues de particuliers de l'époque ptolémaïque portant des cartouches royaux, et mettant en relation les actions accomplies pour des temples par le dignitaire, et la grandeur du roi. (...) Le faisceau de ces données est significatif (...) Panemerit<sup>50</sup> et Pikhâs<sup>51</sup> ont lié leur sort à celui du souverain, ce qui (...) n'est pas sans rappeler les relations privilégiées que Psenptais III de Memphis entretenait avec le même roi. Relations privilégiées et également loyalisme pour ce souverain qui connut de sérieuses tribulations<sup>52</sup>.

Ces exemples témoignent-ils une politique royale pour s'attacher l'élite égyptienne avec, notamment, l'instauration d'une nouvelle forme du culte royal? Les réapparitions de Nectanébo II et d'Arsinoé II peuvent-elles s'expliquer par un tel contexte?

Les différents parallélismes entre ces deux cultes amènent à se demander si celui de Nectanébo II n'est pas un élément du culte dynastique lagide à l'instar de celui d'Arsinoé II. L'introduction de la déesse Philadelphie dans les temples égyptiens était considérée comme une des premières étapes de l'instauration des honneurs divins rendus aux rois macédoniens<sup>53</sup>.

L'hypothèse de l'établissement d'un lien entre les Lagides et Nectanébo II est confortée par deux autres documents. (1) Premièrement, le sarcophage de Nectanébo II a été retrouvé dans l'ancienne église Saint-Anathase d'Alexandrie, l'emplacement supposé du Séma, lieu de sépulture des Ptolémées<sup>54</sup>, où il aurait été transporté à l'époque ptolémaïque<sup>55</sup>. Strabon donne une description intéressante des lieux: «C'est une enceinte renfermant les sépultures des rois et celle d'Alexandre (XVII 8)».

Si la présence du sarcophage de Nectanébo II est acceptée, cela implique que ce souverain fait parti de ces 'rois' et qu'il ne s'agit donc pas

<sup>50</sup> *Pros. Ptol.* VIII 294, III/IX 5717.

<sup>51</sup> *Pros. Ptol.* I/VIII 306, III/IX 5775, IX 5778a, III/IX 6207.

<sup>52</sup> Voir Chr. ZIVIE-COCHE, *Les statues de Panémerit, prince de Tanis sous le règne de Ptolémée Aulète*, dans *Travaux récents sur le Tell Sâh El-Hagar I*, Paris 1998, p. 411-412, n. m.

<sup>53</sup> J. QUAEGBEUR, *Documents relatifs à Arsinoé Philadelphie*, p. 84, évoque l'existence d'un culte égyptien, parallèle au culte dynastique grec, dont la vénération de la déesse Philadelphie a été la première étape.

<sup>54</sup> Ce sarcophage fut considéré pendant un temps comme le tombeau d'Alexandre le Grand: E.D. CLARKE, *The Tomb of Alexander the Great*, Cambridge 1805; H. JENNI, *Das Dekorationsprogramm des Sarkophages Nectanebos II*, Genève 1986, p. 4-6.

<sup>55</sup> F.K. KIENITZ, *Die politische Geschichte Aegyptens vom 7. bis zum 4. Jahrhundert vor der Zeitwende*, Berlin 1953, p. 220.

d'un mausolée exclusivement lagide. La présence de ce monument permet de lier Alexandre et ses successeurs macédoniens d'Égypte à la longue durée dynastique, volonté clairement marquée dans la décoration de plusieurs sanctuaires égyptiens. (2) Secondement, le *Songe de Nectanébo*, connu aussi bien par des versions grecques que démotiques<sup>56</sup>, instaure une continuité entre la XXX<sup>ème</sup> dynastie et la monarchie gréco-macédonienne<sup>57</sup>. Ce thème est repris et développé avec la mention d'une filiation Nectanébo-Alexandre dans le *Roman d'Alexandre* qui, par plusieurs aspects, apparaît comme le dernier état du *Songe de Nectanébo*<sup>58</sup>. Le culte royal revêt donc plusieurs formes en englobant des éléments proprement égyptiens qui ont pour but de l'inscrire dans la tradition pharaonique. Ces différents visages du culte dynastique de l'époque ptolémaïque pourraient être récapitulés ainsi, en suivant une 'grécité' croissante:

- culte des rois anciens<sup>59</sup>;
- culte de Nectanébo II, peut-être considéré, dès l'époque ptolémaïque, comme le père d'Alexandre<sup>60</sup>;
- culte des statues royales<sup>61</sup> qui vaut pour les souverains défunts, égyptiens ou grecs, et le souverain en exercice;
- culte d'Arsinoé II;
- culte des Lagides désignés par leurs épiclèses<sup>62</sup>.

<sup>56</sup> Les versions grecques sont traduites du démotique, voir K. RYHOLT, *Nectanebo's Dream or the Prophecy of Petesis*, dans A. BLASIUS et B.U. SCHIPPER (edd.), *Apokalyphtik und Ägypten. Eine kritische Analyse der Relevanten Texte aus dem griechisch-römischen Ägypten*, Leyde 2002, p. 221-242.

<sup>57</sup> Il est difficile de suivre W. HUSS, *Der makedonische König und die ägyptischen Priester. Studien zur Geschichte des ptolemäischen Ägyptens (Historia Einzelschriften, 85)*, Stuttgart 1994, p. 133, pour qui ce texte est défavorable aux Ptolémées en présentant sous un jour favorable le pharaon Nectanébo alors que son fils aîné est toujours là. Comme le note K. RYHOLT, *Nectanebo's Dream*, p. 238, le texte légitime avant tout le pouvoir d'Alexandre.

<sup>58</sup> Voir K. RYHOLT, *Nectanebo's Dream*, p. 236-237.

<sup>59</sup> En incluant les prêtres qui desservent des cultes dans des temples consacrés à d'anciens pharaons.

<sup>60</sup> Voir R. JASNOW, *The Greek Alexander Romance and Demotic Egyptian Literature*, *JNES* 56 (1997), p. 97: «If, as seems reasonable, the Nektanebo episode belongs to the earliest stage of the Alexander Romance, then in the century after Alexander's conquests, Egyptian scribes were circulating written tales about Nektanebo and his fathering of Alexander».

<sup>61</sup> Le titre de prêtre des statues royales connaît un certain nombre de variantes, voir H. DE MEULENAERE, *CE* 35 (1960), p. 97.

<sup>62</sup> La documentation a été réunie dernièrement par E. LANCIERS, *Die ägyptischen Priester des ptolemäischen Königs Kultes*, *REgypt* 42 (1991), p. 117-145.



Cette 'récupération' par les Lagides du dernier roi égyptien peut trouver trois explications pratiques. (1) Outre la volonté d'établir une continuité avec l'époque dynastique<sup>63</sup>, (2) il s'agirait de ne pas dépouiller d'une prébende les desservants de Nectanébo II qui sont recrutés parmi des membres éminents des plus importantes familles sacerdotales au début de l'époque ptolémaïque. (3) Enfin, l'établissement d'une telle continuité permet aux Lagides d'utiliser les usages et rites instaurés ou réutilisés par Nectanébo II pour lui-même comme le culte des statues royales<sup>64</sup> et l'assimilation du roi au faucon Horus<sup>65</sup>.

Le maintien des prêtrises de Nectanébo-le-Faucon apparaît donc non pas comme un héritage de l'époque pharaonique, subsistant malgré les invasions, mais, au contraire, comme le fruit de la politique des Ptolémées.

<sup>63</sup> L'œuvre de Manéthon illustre cette volonté, voir D. MENDELS, *The Polemical Character of Manetho's Aegyptiaca*, dans *Identity, Religion and Historiography (Studies in Hellenistic History)*, Sheffield 1998, p. 144 et 152-153, qui note que la ligne de Manéthon est «accorded with the religio-political policy of his new masters, the Ptolemies» et que «it cannot be accidental that the gods who appear (...) are those gods to whom the Ptolemies of the third century BC gave a special official religio-political emphasis».

<sup>64</sup> Le culte des statues du souverain dans les temples est en effet une tradition de la période pharaonique. Ainsi, dans le *P. Rylands IX 16.7-9*, il est fait mention du culte de la statue d'Amasis dans le temple de Teudjoï.

<sup>65</sup> Le terme faucon est usuellement utilisé pour désigner Horus et le souverain en Égypte, il est particulièrement lié à la figure de Nectanébo II, l'identité de ce souverain étant exprimée par le faucon royal, voir J. YOYOTTE, *Nectanébo II comme faucon divin?*, *Kémi* 15 (1959), p. 74. Cette identification apparaît avec le problème *P. Carlsberg temp. inv. 10.490* qui, dans la lignée du *Songe de Nectanébo* et du *Roman d'Alexandre*, annonce la venue en Égypte d'un «jeune faucon», voir K. RYHOLT, *Nectanebo's Dream*, p. 237.

Pour les Ptolémées, une telle assimilation pourrait être attestée avec le titre de prêtre «d'Horus» ou du «faucon» de la «fenêtre d'apparition». Sur cette prêtrise voir LEITZ, *Lexicon der Götter* V, p. 291. Ce titre sacerdotal est porté au début de l'époque ptolémaïque par les pontifes de Ptah Esisout-Pétobastis (*Pros. Ptol. III/IX 5361, 5362, 5364*) et Téôs (*Pros. Ptol. III/IX 5373*). La «fenêtre d'apparition» est, au moins chez les pontifes de Ptah, bien lié au culte dynastique comme le montre le titre de «prophète de la fenêtre d'apparition du pharaon du sud, du nord, du sud et du nord» porté par Imouthès-Pétobastis (*Pros. Ptol. III/IX 5372*) au premier siècle.

Ce titre est tout d'abord connu par des versions hiéroglyphiques puis, au premier siècle seulement, par des versions démotiques. Ces dernières indiquent qu'il faut lire *Hr p3 s3d h'*, «Horus de la fenêtre d'apparition». En revanche, il peut être noté que dans les inscriptions hiéroglyphiques plus anciennes il pourrait être indifféremment lu *Hr* ou *bik*, «Horus» ou le «faucon». La graphie utilisée est la même que dans le titre de «prophète de Nectanébo-le-faucon» qui est mentionné avec les premières mentions de la prêtrise de la fenêtre d'apparition. Cela n'est pas sans rappeler l'assimilation entre Horus, le faucon et Nectanébo II.

En effet, ce souverain ne jouit pas d'une grande popularité au IV<sup>ème</sup> siècle. Ce manque d'enthousiasme peut s'expliquer par le souvenir du pronunciamiento contre Tachôs, l'héritier légitime de Nectanébo I, puis par la défaite face aux Perses<sup>66</sup>. L'image des Nectanébides dans la *Chronique démotique* est mauvaise même si Nectanébo II n'est pas explicitement nommé<sup>67</sup>. Il est absent des inscriptions des particuliers qui lui sont contemporains<sup>68</sup> et ne devient populaire que dans les inscriptions qui lui sont postérieures<sup>69</sup>. Les Lagides ont réhabilité le souvenir de ce pharaon en s'inscrivant dans sa lignée et en revitalisant le culte qu'il avait lui-même instauré. La figure de Nectanébo II fait donc ainsi partie de la «propagande lagide<sup>70</sup>».

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<sup>66</sup> Pour P. BRIANT, *Histoire*, p. 704-706, «l'affaiblissement interne du pouvoir pharaonique» causé par la défection de la noblesse égyptienne (...) ne constitue pas l'une des raisons profondes de l'échec égyptien».

<sup>67</sup> Selon P. KAPLONY, *Demotische Chronik*, LÄ I, col. 1057 et CE 46 (1971), p. 256, ce texte aurait une origine héracléopolitaine et serait dirigée contre la famille princière de Sébennyos.

<sup>68</sup> H. DE MEULENAERE, *Nektanebos*, LÄ IV, col. 452.

<sup>69</sup> Voir U. RÖSSLER-KÖHLER, *Individuelle Haltungen zum ägyptischen Königtum der Spätzeit* (GOF, 21), Göttingen 1991, p. 372.

<sup>70</sup> Pour cette notion de «propagande lagide», voir Fr. DUNAND, *Fêtes, traditions et propagande. Les cérémonies en l'honneur de Bérénice, fille de Ptolémée III en 238*, (MIFAO, 104), Le Caire 1980, p. 287-301; Chr. THIERS, *Fêtes et propagande, Egypte, Afrique et Orient* 32 (2004), p. 23-30, particulièrement p. 25 où l'auteur justifie ce terme en arguant «qu'il s'agissait de convaincre et de faire adhérer la population à un nouveau pouvoir».

## GREEK POLYTHEOPHORIC NAMES: AN ONOMASTIC FASHION OF ROMAN EGYPT\*

*Abstract:* Greek personal names joining the names of two deities (e.g. Hermeracles) have long been known to be characteristic of Roman Egypt, but have never been studied comprehensively. This article offers an overview of the formation, variety and distribution of these 'polytheophoric' names, an exploration of their relation to traditional Greek and Egyptian onomastic practice, and some remarks on their socio-religious significance. It emerges that such names were popular especially between the second and the fourth centuries, followed regional preferences, and reflect an elite milieu in the *metropoleis* of Roman Egypt grounded in Hellenistic interpretations of Egyptian religion. A list of polytheophoric names preserved in documentary papyri and inscriptions (excluding names in -ἄμμων) is appended.

One of the peculiarities of Greek onomastics in Graeco-Roman Egypt is the category of theophoric names that join the names of two deities. For lack of a better term, I designate them 'polytheophoric'<sup>1</sup>. Although they have long been recognized as characteristic of Roman Egypt, there has not been a systematic collection and examination of this group of names to date, save for a study from the early sixties on names in -ἄμμων and a recent conspectus of names in -ἀπόλλων<sup>2</sup>. On the basis of a nearly

\* Frequently cited works will be referred to by the following abbreviations:

FRASER, *Ptolemaic Alexandria* = P.M. FRASER, *Ptolemaic Alexandria* I-III, Oxford 1972.

HOPFNER, *Personennamen* = Th. HOPFNER, *Graezisierte, griechisch-ägyptische, bzw. ägyptisch-griechische und hybride theophore Personennamen*, *Archiv Orientalní* 15 (1946), p. 1-64.

LGPN = E. MATTHEWS *et al.* (eds.), *A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names* I-IV, Oxford 1987-2005.

MASSON, *OGS* = O. MASSON, *Onomastica Graeca Selecta* I-II, Paris 1990; III, Genève 2000.

NB *Dem.* = E. LÜDDECKENS *et al.*, *Demotisches Namenbuch*, Wiesbaden 1980-2000.

PARKER, *Theophoric Names* = R. PARKER, *Theophoric Names and the History of Greek Religion*, in S. HORNBLOWER and E. MATTHEWS (eds.), *Greek Personal Names: Their Value as Evidence*, Oxford 2000, p. 53-79.

Journal sigla are those of *L'Année Philologique*.

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<sup>1</sup> An alternative designation would be 'theophoric *dvandva*-names' (see below), but I prefer to avoid the linguistic term *dvandva* as it might not be widely familiar to non-philologists.

<sup>2</sup> F. DUNAND, *Les noms théophores en -ammon. A propos d'un papyrus de Strasbourg du III<sup>e</sup> siècles p.C.*, *CE* 38 (1963), p. 134-146; N. LITINAS, *Hierakapollon, the Title of Panos Polis and the Names in -apollon*, *AncSoc* 37 (2007), p. 97-106. I am grateful to Dr. Litinas for kindly sharing with me his article before its publication.

comprehensive list of such names (excluding names in -ἄμμων; see below) I here offer a ‘vue d’ensemble’ of their variety, composition and distribution. In a second part, I consider their formal background in Greek and Egyptian onomastics, and finally touch upon some individual names’ possible religious implications.

#### THE LIST: BASIS AND EXCLUSIONS

The list of Greek polytheophoric names in Appendix I has been constructed from three principal onomastic collections: F. Preisigke’s *Namenbuch* (1922), D. Foraboschi’s *Onomasticon* (1967-1971), and the *Wörterliste* compiled by D. Hagedorn<sup>3</sup>. I have also checked the name indexes of most of the papyrological volumes published between the *Onomasticon* (ending in 1966) and the *Wörterliste* (beginning in 1995), but I may have missed some names in the process. The polytheophoric names identified in these sources have been further subjected to a search on the *Duke Database of Documentary Papyri* for confirmation. Names from the Greek inscriptions of Egypt are also listed. Examples from inscriptions outside Egypt, which are altogether few, are mentioned separately in the notes.

Under the category of ‘Greek polytheophoric names’ are included names that unite two Greek theonyms as well as those that join a Greek with a Hellenized Egyptian theonym<sup>4</sup>. In order to simplify the subsequent analysis and discussion, I have purposefully excluded some special names that fall under this category, as well as uncertain or illusory names:

- The above-mentioned names ending in -ἄμμων, which presumably refer to the god Amun/Ammon<sup>5</sup>. As these names are significantly

<sup>3</sup> The *Wörterliste* can be downloaded from <<http://www.papy.uni-hd.de/WL/WL.html>>.

<sup>4</sup> My range is therefore broader than that of HOPFNER, *Personennamen*, who, given the focus of his study, considers only names «die aus einem ägyptischen und einem griechischen Götternamen bestehen» (p. 5).

<sup>5</sup> W. SWINNEN, *Philammon, chantre légendaire, et les noms gréco-égyptiens en -ammôn*, in *Antidorum W. Peremans sexagenario ab alumnis oblatum*, Louvain 1968, p. 237-262, argues that -ἄμμων was originally a Greek hypocoristic ending with no relation to the god Ammon. He recognizes, however, that by the Hellenistic period, and in the Libyan and Egyptian contexts at least, it was reinterpreted by popular etymology to refer to the god Amun/Ammon (cf. esp. p. 257, 260-261). See also O. MASSON, *Une inscription éphébique de Ptolémaïs (Cyrénaïque)*, *ZPE* 20 (1976), p. 98 = *OGS* I, p. 254 n. 55; *Grecs et Libyens en Cyrénaïque, d’après les témoignages de l’épigraphie*, *AntAfr* 10 (1976), p. 60-61 = *OGS* I, p. 296-297; PARKER, *Theophoric Names*, p. 75 n. 86.

more numerous and varied than the other polytheophoric formations, they are best treated separately (for now Dunand's study can serve as a reference). Moreover, the element -άμμων was so common as to have become degraded to a mere grammaticalized suffix for theophoric names. This is shown by its combination with all sorts of divine names<sup>6</sup>.

- Διονυσαλέξανδρος (*P. Oxy.* LXVI 4540.1 ([III?]), Πτολλάνουβις (*SB* I 3918 [II]). These names are not included as they are unlikely to refer in the Roman period to the divinized Alexander and Ptolemies. The former name is otherwise only known as the title of a comedy by Cratinus (*PCG* IV 39–51); cf. Λουκαλέξανδρος in *P. Oxy.* XLIII 3117.3 (*Oxy.*; III). The second name is discussed by Masson, *Quand le nom Πτολεμαῖος était à la mode*, *ZPE* 98 (1993) 165 = *OGS* III 157. Cf. also the uncertain [Π]τολλάπι[ς] in *SB* XX 14516.1 (VI) (see the editor's other suggestions).
- Διονυσαπολλόδωρος. In this *hapax onomasticum* preserved in *P. Oxy.* XLIX 3491.2 (140/1), an already compound theophoric name (Ἀπολλόδωρος) is combined with another divine name (Διόνυσος). Since this individual is the grandson of Dionysius and Apollonius, his name may be a creative attempt to commemorate the names of both his grandfathers<sup>7</sup>. The reading Ἀ[μ]μωγοῖσιδῶρου (?) in *P. Thmouis* I 92.3 (167/8) is highly uncertain (see the editor's note *ad loc.*).
- Ἑρμάνουβις, Ἑρμανουβίων, Ἑρμανουβάς. This special group of personal names refers to a Hellenized and fully anthropomorphic version of Anubis doubly determined by a Greek and Egyptian name as a result of the assimilation of Hermes and Anubis. Although the name of this deity is polytheophoric, it designates a single, independent god and could therefore be compounded with the name of another god in

<sup>6</sup> Theophoric names in -άμμων: Αἰωνιάμμων, Ἀρποκρα(τά)μμων, Ἀσκλάμμων, Ἀχιλλάμμων, [Βαστάμμων?], Βησάμμων, Δημετράμμων, Διονυσάμμων, Διοσκοράμμων, Ἑρμάμμων, Ἡλιάμμων, Ἡρακλάμμων, Ἡράμμων, Ἡφαιστάμμων, Ἰσάμμων, Κρονάμμων, Νειλάμμων, Νεμεσάμμων, Πλουτάμμων, Σαραπάμμων, Σουχάμμων, Χνουβάμμων. Cf. also Ἀβάμμων, Ἀγάμμων, Ἀλ(δ)άμμων, Ἀμμωναντίνοος/Ἀμουναντίνοος, Ἀπάμμων, Ἀριάμμων, Ἀτάμμων, Διανάμμων, Διδυμάμμων, Θεωνάμμων, Ἱερακάμμων, Ἰλιάμμων, Ἰ(τ)θαλ(λ)άμμων, Καλάμμων, Λουκάμμων, Πανισκάμμων, Παράμμων, Παχομπάμμων, Σαράμμων/Σαλάμμων, Ταυράμμων, Φοιβάμμων. For non-polytheophoric compounds, cf. Ἀγαθάμμων, Ἰσχυράμμων, Ν(ε)ικάμμων, Χρυσάμμων.

<sup>7</sup> On the common practice of papponymy see D. HOBSON, *Naming Practices in Roman Egypt*, *BASP* 26 (1989), p. 157–174, at 165–168.

proper polytheophoric names; cf. Ἑρμανοβάμμων, Ἑρακληερμάνουβις (on the latter see below). These last names are not, then, triple theophoric names as is commonly assumed<sup>8</sup>. (I treat names based on Hermanubis separately and more fully in the forthcoming *Pap. Congr.* XXV.)

- Ερμαπίων. Rather than a polytheophoric form combining Hermes and Apis, this rare name is perhaps a variant of the well-attested Carian and Lycian names Ερμαπ(π)ιας, Ερμαπις, on which see Masson, *Notes d'anthroponymie grecque et asianique*, *Beitr. z. Nam.* 10 (1959) 167–170 = *OGS* I 27–30. It is attested only in *Syringes* 2076.1 (Theb.?) and Ammian. XVII 4.7 (*Hermapio*)<sup>9</sup>.
- Ἑρμογαφόδ(ιτος?). See below, n. 18.
- Ἡλιοσέραπις. Hopfner, *Personennamen* 45, cites this as a personal name (no references), but in fact it is solely attested as a divine name<sup>10</sup>.
- Ἰσαπόλλων/Εἰσαπόλλων. I argue elsewhere (*APF* 54 (2008) 109–112) that this is a ‘ghost name’ to be excised from the onomastic lexica.
- Ὠραπόλλων. This name combines the Egyptian and Greek names of one and the same god (i.e. Horus = Apollo), like Ἑρμάνουβις above. For references, see Litinas, *AncSoc* 37 (2007) 103.
- Compounds in Εὐδαιμων-, e.g. Εὐδαιμωναντίνοος (*P. Köln* I 53.6 [263]), or in -θέων, are not included as their second element does not refer to a specific deity.
- Names combining a sacred animal’s name with a god’s name, e.g. Ἱερακαπόλλων, Λυκαπόλλων (on these two names see Litinas, *AncSoc* 37, 2007, 97, 102).

It should be stressed that though they are excluded, many of these names still exhibit the same chronological and social distribution as the theophoric names discussed below. They therefore ought to be considered as part of the same onomastic trend.

<sup>8</sup> For a genuine triple potamophoric name, cf. Ἑρμοκαϊκόξανθος, discussed by MASSON, *Le curieux nom d'un Marseillais chez Aristote: Hermokaïkoxanthos*, *JS* (1985), p. 17–23 = *OGS* II, p. 475–481.

<sup>9</sup> In Ammianus, the name refers to the supposed translator into Greek of an Egyptian obelisk inscription. The origin and date of this Hermapion are uncertain, and it is unclear whether he is the actual translator of the obelisk or simply reported another’s translation; on these questions see B. LAMBRECHT, *L’obélisque d’Hermapion (Ammien Marcellin, Res Gestae XVII, 4, 17–23)*, *Muséon* 114 (2001), p. 51–95, at 86–91.

<sup>10</sup> On Heliosarapis see FRASER, *Ptolemaic Alexandria*, p. 259, 410 n. 544.

## COMPOSITION, FREQUENCIES, AND DISTRIBUTION

The polytheophoric names discussed here are based on a fairly restricted number of deities and combinations (Table 1). The names as a rule combine no more than two theonymns (see above on the apparent exception of Ἡρακλερμάνουβις). The great majority of the gods' names occupy consistently either the initial or the final position. Only the names of Heracles and Sarapis appear in both positions, but in no combination is the order of the divine names interchangeable. Usually, the theonym in final position retains its original ending, but the names of Heracles and Apollo occasionally admit a suffix (Σαραπο-ηράκλ-ειος, Ἑρμ-ηράκλ-ειος, Ἡρακλ-απολλών-ιος). The first element in the names Ἀσκλάνουβις and Σαρ-απόλλων is abbreviated, the latter abbreviation no doubt avoiding the repetition of the syllable -απ- in Σαραπ-απόλλων<sup>11</sup>. The frequencies of these names vary considerably. Six combinations are attested only once. Names ending in -απόλλων are the most prolific.

As has been often observed, these names are a characteristic of the Roman period (Table 2). The earliest attested polytheophoric name appears to be Ἡρακλαπόλλων from the end of the first or the early second century. Even if allowance is made for the smaller number of papyri that have survived from the first century<sup>12</sup>, the virtually complete lack of examples of polytheophoric names from this period contrasts with their sudden growth and variety in the following two centuries, with 17 names in the second and 15 in the third century. In terms of the number of surviving instances, the peak is reached in the fourth century, with about 50 examples. About two-thirds of these, however, are covered by the name Ἑρμαπόλλων, which apparently enjoyed great popularity in fourth-century Hermopolis, from which we have some 36 examples (many from *P. Herm. Landl.*). In the fifth century and later, polytheophoric names, like most theophoric names in the wake of Christianity,

<sup>11</sup> The form Ἀσκλᾶς at the basis of Ἀσκλάνουβις is usually an abbreviation of the common personal name Ἀσκληπιάδης; see MASSON, *Pape-Benseleriana V: Asklas l'obscur*, ZPE 27 (1977), p. 251-254 = OGS I, p. 299-302. MASSON, ZPE 98 (1993), p. 165 = OGS III, p. 157, therefore, considers «le premier élément [in the name Ἀσκλάνουβις] un nom humain», in analogy with Πτολλάνουβις. But perhaps the first element represents here the name of the god Ἀσκληπίος, given the parallel of Σαραπόλλων (< hypocoristic Σαρῶς) = Σαραπαπόλλων. See further below, p. 82.

<sup>12</sup> See generally W. HABERMANN, *Zur chronologischen Verteilung der papyrologischen Zeugnisse*, ZPE 122 (1998), p. 144-160.



dwindle significantly in number and variety: 21 instances are known from the fifth to the seventh centuries, the overwhelming majority of which are constituted again by Ἑρμαπόλλων (19 examples).

When considering the geographical distribution of these names (Table 3), two points hinder blanket generalizations (besides the obviously small sample of names): (1) the various cities and areas of Egypt are very unevenly covered by the surviving papyrological documentation; (2) the provenance of a papyrus does not necessarily correspond to the provenance of the individuals named in it. In response to the second point, I separated in my list the provenance of the papyrus from that of the name bearers. When there was no good reason to suspect that an individual has a different provenance, I retained the papyrus' provenance as his probable origin. These caveats aside, the Hermopolite nome, and Hermopolis specifically, emerges with the greatest concentration and variety of polytheophoric names: 5 of the 14 names in the list are attested here, two of them with a component of Hermes, the chief god of the nome (= Egyptian Thoth). Unsurprisingly, neighbouring Antinoopolis, many of whose inhabitants originated from Hermopolis, has the second highest number of polytheophoric names, especially those compounded with the name of the deified Antinous. Most conspicuous by its total absence from Table 3 is nearby Oxyrhynchus: although a few Oxyrhynchite papyri attest individuals with polytheophoric names, not a single person is said to be from that city. The well-documented Arsinoite nome also yields a poor harvest of such names. The phenomenon of polytheophoric names, then, followed regional variations, and was clearly most fashionable in the Hermopolite and Antinoopolite nomes.

From a socio-economic perspective, the majority of these names are borne by individuals from the *metropoleis* rather than villagers<sup>13</sup>. At least in the second and third centuries, the names were particularly in vogue among the middle and upper (i.e. office-holding, propertied) classes (see further below, p. 84-85). It is also noteworthy that all the gods in these names are male. Likewise, nearly all name bearers are men. Only one female is identifiable with a Greek polytheophoric name, a certain Ἑρμαπολλωνία of unknown provenance. The well-known sex bias in traditional Greek theophoric names is clearly insufficient here

<sup>13</sup> The only certain villagers are Besapollon in *SB* V 7666.3 (330), who is a lessee ἀπὸ Τῆος (Panopolite), Hermapollon in *PSI* IV 304.7 (V), said to be from the Hermopolite village Poampimenis, and the comarch and father of a comarch also named Hermapollon in *P. Flor.* I 2.14, 178 (Herm.; 265).

as an explanation of the paucity of female polytheophoric names<sup>14</sup>: such names were apparently considered inappropriate for a woman.

#### RELATION TO TRADITIONAL GREEK AND EGYPTIAN ONOMASTIC PRACTICE

*Greek Background* — From a perusal of the *Lexicon of Greek Personal Names* it is clear that polytheophoric names are alien to the traditional Greek onomastic repertory. A theophoric name is normally formed «by addition of a suffix to the god's name, or by compounding it with a second meaning-bearing element»<sup>15</sup>. Nevertheless, the composition of polytheophoric names is perfectly regular as far as Greek word formation is concerned. They correspond to a well-attested, though rather rare, category of nouns known as 'dvandva-compounds' (or 'kopulative Komposita'), a term borrowed from Sanskrit grammar to describe words in which two substantives or adjectives are united in a coordinated sense, such as νυχθ-ήμερον, ἀνδρο-γυνος<sup>16</sup>.

Among older Greek personal names of this type, the closest parallel is a group of names from Asia Minor that combine the name of a local river, especially the Hermos and the Maeander (in the form Μάνδρος as Peter Thonemann has convincingly shown recently), with the name of a deity (e.g. Διονύς-ερμος, Ποσειδ-ερμος, Ἀθηνό-μανδρος, Διό-μανδρος) or that of another river (e.g. Ἑρμό-καϊκος, Ξάνθ-ερμος, Νειλό-μανδρος)<sup>17</sup>. These names are evidently local formations and

<sup>14</sup> See PARKER, *Theophoric Names*, p. 64-65.

<sup>15</sup> PARKER, *Theophoric Names*, p. 59.

<sup>16</sup> See E. SCHWYZER, *Griechische Grammatik* I, p. 452-453; H.C. MULLER, *Greek dvandva Compounds*, *CQ* 14.1 (1920), p. 48. For non-personal dvandva-compounds in documentary papyri, see E. MAYSER, *Grammatik der griechischen Papyri aus der Ptolemäerzeit* I.3, p. 159-160.

<sup>17</sup> On all these names see P. THONEMANN, *Neilomandros. A Contribution to the History of Greek Personal Names*, *Chiron* 36 (2006), p. 11-43, at 30-33 (with further references). See also MASSON, *JS* (1985), p. 17-23 = *OGS* II, p. 475-481, and *Noms grecs du type 'Ακρολέων "ours-lion"*, in *Logopédies, Mélanges de philologie et de linguistique grecques offerts à Jean Taillardat*, Paris 1988, p. 175-177 = *OGS* II, p. 621-623. Cf. also the names Ἡροσκάμανδρος, which seems to unite the names of Hera and the river Scamander (see F. BECHTEL, *Die historischen Personennamen des Griechischen bis zur Kaiserzeit*, Halle 1917, p. 192, 402), and Ζηνίβενδης, a (slave?) woman's name attested in a third-century BC inscription from the Euboean city of Eretria, which seems to combine the name of the Greek Zeus with that of the Thracian goddess Bendis (see MASSON, *Les noms théophores de Bendis en Grèce et en Thrace*, *MH* 45 (1988), p. 8 = *OGS* II, p. 607).

cannot be related to the polytheophoric names from Roman Egypt, but they show at least that, in particular contexts, Greek onomastics of an earlier period could combine the name of a god with another name. One can further adduce the examples of gods such Ἑρμ-αφρόδιτος (fourth century BC)<sup>18</sup>, and Ζηνο-ποσειδῶν, a hellenization of the Carian god Zeus Osogoa, in which the Greeks saw attributes of both Zeus and Poseidon<sup>19</sup>. Comedy titles like Διονυσ-αλέξανδρος (see above p. 73) and a series of names that combine the names of two animals (e.g. Ἀκρο-λέων, Λεοντό-λυκος)<sup>20</sup> show that there was no obstacle to the formation of copulative personal names. From Graeco-Roman Egypt itself, ethnic designations like Λιβυφοίνικες and Ἑλληνομεμφῖται, and gods such as Ἡλιοσέραπις and Ἑρμάνουβις (the latter also a personal name; see above) are further testimony to the ease of forming *dvandva* names in Greek.

As we have seen, however, the polytheophoric names attested in Roman Egypt are not found earlier in the rest of the Greek world. The rare examples in inscriptions from outside Egypt or in literary sources, such as Σεραπόλων in *IG* X.2 543.1 (Thessalonike; III), also date from the Roman period and were probably borne by individuals from Egypt or at least influenced by this Graeco-Egyptian fashion.

In Greek onomastics the lack of such names in earlier times is also formally linked to the rarity before the Imperial period of what Robert Parker calls «direct theonymy», the use of unaltered divine names for humans<sup>21</sup>. Since theophoric names simply replicating the name of a god

<sup>18</sup> See A. AJOOTIAN, *LIMC* V.1: p. 268-285 s.n. 'Hermaphroditos' (with further bibliography). The *LGPn* contains two instances from south Italy of a personal name based on this god (Vol. IIIA s.n. Ἑρμαφρόδιτος) and an uncertain one from Macedonia (Vol. IV s.n.). Cf. also the uncertain name Ἑρμογαφρόδ(ιτος?) in *P. Tebt.* II 343.54 (Ars.; II), with an apparent vowel glide represented by *gamma* between the two elements of the name (the on-line image of the papyrus does not suggest a problem with the reading of the letters). The Peripatetic Clearchus distinguished among the θεοφόρα ὀνόματα between those ἐξ ἐνὸς θεοῦ and those (ἐξ) πλεόνων (θεῶν) οἷον Ἑρμαφρόδιτος (Fr. 86 Wehrli = Athen. X 448 c). The terms *Hermathena* and *Hermeracles* in Cicero's letters to Atticus are coined by Cicero himself to refer to herms of these gods; they bear no connection to the god Hermes (see H. WREDE, *Die Antike Herme*, Mainz am Rhein 1986, p. 59) and are not relevant to the present discussion.

<sup>19</sup> See W. BLÜMEL, *Die Inschriften von Mylasa*, Teil I, Bonn 1987, p. 128, with further bibliography.

<sup>20</sup> On these names see MASSON, in *Logopédies* (cit. supra), p. 171-177 = *OGS* II, p. 617-623.

<sup>21</sup> See PARKER, *Theophoric Names*, p. 57-58, with further bibliography.

are untypical before the first century AD, polytheophoric names, in most of which the second divine element similarly does not contain any suffix (see above), are also unexpected in an earlier period. This explanation, however, does not answer the question why these names arise in the first place: socio-cultural or religious motivations, which are often difficult to pinpoint in onomastic study, must have been the determining factor (see below).

Greek onomastics, in sum, while formally predisposed to polytheophoric formations, do not provide any direct precedents to the names under discussion. For a potentially more promising avenue we now turn to Egyptian names.

*Egyptian Background* — In Egyptian, both direct theonymy and theophoric names juxtaposing the names of two divinities were long established traditions. A few polytheophoric names appear already in the Old Kingdom, then become more frequent in the Middle Kingdom, and reach great popularity and variety during the New Kingdom<sup>22</sup>. Most significantly for our investigation, they remain well attested into the Graeco-Roman period<sup>23</sup>. The *Demotisches Namenbuch*, for instance, lists some thirty different Egyptian polytheophoric names written on demotic documents (these are listed below, Appendix II).

These Egyptian names have not been studied systematically, and their origin and religious significance are not always clear. In some cases a compound name seems to identify the two gods forming the name and can be related to Egyptian ‘syncretic’ conceptions; in others two distinct but closely related gods are juxtaposed (e.g. *ns-šw-tfn.t*, ‘He belonging to Shu and Tefnut’, referring to the well-known divine couple of the ‘Great Ennead’). But in some names no connection between the two gods is obvious, and it would seem that the name places the newborn child under the protection of two different beneficent deities.

<sup>22</sup> See K. HOFFMANN, *Die theophoren Personennamen des älteren Ägyptens*, Leipzig 1915, p. 67-68; H. RANKE, *Les noms propres égyptiens*, CE 11 (1936), p. 293-323, at 309-310; H. RANKE, *Die ägyptischen Personennamen* Band II, Glückstadt 1952, p. 239; E. LÜDDECKENS, *Die theophoren Personennamen im pharaonischen, hellenistisch-römischen und christlichen Ägypten*, in *Ägypten – Dauer und Wandel*, Mainz am Rhein 1985, p. 105-113, at 108 (his statement that these names are «eine Neuerung des NR» is misleading, however).

<sup>23</sup> See RANKE, *Les noms propres égyptiens*, p. 218; RANKE, *Die ägyptischen Personennamen* II, p. 247.

The coincidence of this well-established Egyptian onomastic practice with the appearance of Greek polytheophoric names in Roman Egypt invites the question whether the latter were based on or somehow influenced by the former. The ‘translation’ of Egyptian theophoric names into Greek is a well-known phenomenon, e.g. in some double names of the type Ἀπολλώνιος ὁ καὶ Ἥρος<sup>24</sup>. Moreover, the Greeks of Egypt were aware early on of the Egyptian tendency to unite the names of two gods. The new Alexandrian god Sarapis was himself based on the earlier Memphite syncretism of Osiris and the Apis bull, a fusion especially evident in the form Ὅσορ-απῖς (see *UPZ* II, p. 310 s.n.). Likewise, an Egyptian polytheophoric name such as Ὅσιρ-άνουπις, attested in an agricultural account from the Fayum c. 182 BC (*P. Tebt.* III.2 886.139), could have been easily intelligible to a Greek as a combination of the names of Osiris and Anubis, and may indeed be an ancestor of the name Σαραπάνουβις in our list<sup>25</sup>.

Four Greek names may be hypothetically considered ‘translations’ of Egyptian ones if we apply a straightforward *interpretatio Graeca* to the gods attested in Egyptian polytheophoric names (i.e. with Apollo = Horus; Heracles = Chonsu; Hermes = Thoth). These are (see Appendix II for references to *NB Dem.*):

- Βησαπόλλων *hr-bs/* Ἀρβης (Horus-Bes)
- Ἑρμαπόλλων *hr-thwtj/* Ἀρθωτης (Horus-Thoth)
- Ἑρμηρακλῆς *hnsu-thwtj/* Χε(ν)σθωτης (Chonsu-Thoth)
- Ἑρακλαπόλλων *hr-hnsu/* Ἀρχωνσις (Horus-Chonsu)<sup>26</sup>

Despite these apparent correspondences, this approach presents some difficulties in the face of the markedly different geographical distribution of the Greek and Egyptian names. (The inverse order of the gods in the Greek and Egyptian names is also notable, though this may simply reflect the preference in Greek of having Ἑρμ- in the first position and -απόλλων in the second.) Thus, the Egyptian name *hr-thwtj/* Ἀρθωτης (Horus-Thoth) is attested in several areas of Egypt but not in the

<sup>24</sup> For some Ptolemaic examples see R. CALDERINI, *Ricerche sul doppio nome personale nell'Egitto greco-romano II, Aegyptus* 22 (1942), p. 3-45, at 25-28.

<sup>25</sup> Cf. also the forms Ὅσοράνουπις in *P. Ryl.* II 214 fr. C.38, D.60 (Thmouis; II) and Σαράνουπις in *SB* I 5272.31, 37 (Memph.; 304), the latter a form ‘halfway’ between the Greek and the Egyptian names (is it a Hellenized version of Ὅσιράνουπις or an abbreviation of Σαραπάνουβις? Note that it is borne by two villagers).

<sup>26</sup> Cf. also the uncertain *hnsu-hr* (Chonsu-Horus) in *NB Dem.* 885.

Hermopolite nome, whereas Ἑρμαπόλλων is mostly confined to the latter<sup>27</sup>. The same goes for *hr-hnsw*/Ἀρχωνσις vis-à-vis Ἑρακλαπόλλων. The three instances of Βησαπόλλων are all from Panopolis, where names based on Bes were popular in the third and fourth centuries<sup>28</sup>; but there are no instances of *hr-bs*/Ἀρβης (Horus-Bes) from this city. The predominantly Theban name *hnsw-thwtj*/Χε(ν)σθωτης (Chonsu-Thoth) contrasts with the two Arsinoite instances of Ἑρμηρακλῆς (one of which refers to an Alexandrian)<sup>29</sup>. In the lack of actual geographical overlaps, therefore, it is imprudent to interpret the above Greek polytheophoric names as translations of Egyptian ones.

#### SOME RELIGIOUS IMPLICATIONS

Even if the above Greek names were not *interpretationes* of Egyptian polytheophoric names, this does not preclude that the Greek names of this type were loosely inspired by the Egyptian practice. Even excluding the special case of the thoroughly Hellenized Sarapis and Hermanubis, two of the deities constituting these names, Anubis and Bes, are of Egyptian origin. Four of the fourteen polytheophoric names in the list are compounded from their names. For these cases at least, the Greek theonym combined with one of these gods may represent either an assimilated Greek divinity or an *interpretatio Graeca* of a closely related Egyptian god. The latter process is in fact discernible upon examination of the names. That -απόλλων in the name Βησαπόλλων represents Horus is supported by the occurrence of the name Βῆς-ωρος in the same period and by the traditional association of Bes with Horus the child as his protector<sup>30</sup>. Hopfner, *Personennamen* 14, sees in the name

<sup>27</sup> The only possible instance of the name Ἀρθωτης from the Hermopolite is *P. Stras.* IV 294.12 (150/1), but the provenance of this document is uncertain (see the editor's note on l. 8).

<sup>28</sup> Cf. N. LITINAS, *AncSoc* 37 (2007), p. 100.

<sup>29</sup> Cf. J. SCHWARTZ, *Hermeracles*, *ASAE* 45 (1947), p. 37–49, at 45 (writing before the personal name Ἑρμηρακλῆς was attested). There are only a couple of instances of forms of *hnsw-thwtj* from the Arsinoite (all Ptolemaic): *P. Cair. Zen.* III 59528.1 (Χεσθ[]), 59782b.71, 93 (both III BC); possibly *P. Tebt.* III.2 1045.45 (II BC) (in the form Κοσθῶν[ος]); cf. from nearby Memphis *UPZ* I 98.27 (158 BC), *O. Hor* 19.22 (172 BC).

<sup>30</sup> See the discussion by M. MALAISE, *Bès et les croyances solaires*, in S. ISRAELIT-GROLL (ed.), *Studies in Egyptology presented to Miriam Lichtheim*, Jerusalem 1990, p. 680–729, at 701–714. Βῆςωρος: *P. Herm. Landl.* G 375, F 591, 808 (Herm.; IV); *SB* XX 15062.10 (Herm.?; III/IV).

Ἀσκλάνουβις an unparalleled association of the traditional Greek god Asclepius and Anubis on the basis of their common 'chthonic' character. It is easier, however, to see in Asclepius the usual *interpretatio Graeca* of the Egyptian god Imhotep/Imouthes. This view is confirmed by the fact that all instances of the name Ἀσκλάνουβις are from Memphis, whose necropolis in Saqqara was the site of both an important Anubieion and an Asclepieion (the tomb of the deified Imhotep) within short distance of each other<sup>31</sup>. The name would connect two deities that were particularly revered in Memphis. Σαραπάνουβις is probably based on the close association of Sarapis and Anubis within the Alexandrian 'divine family', since Anubis, along with Harpocrates, was seen as the son of Sarapis and Isis on the basis of the earlier Egyptian filiation of Anubis from Osiris<sup>32</sup>.

On this principle, other polytheophoric names that join purely Greek theonyms can be linked to Hellenistic appropriations of elements of Egyptian religion. The possibility of a name's roots in Greek religious conceptions, however, cannot always be excluded, and in some names the connection between the juxtaposed gods remains problematical<sup>33</sup>. In the name Ἑρμαπόλλων, Hermes surely refers to Thoth (or 'Thoth-Hermes') given the name's near-total confinement to Hermopolis, the chief centre of this god<sup>34</sup>. Behind Ἡρακλαπόλλων there probably lurks the Graeco-Roman interpretation of Horus the child (= Apollo) as the young Heracles<sup>35</sup>. An early Ptolemaic dedication to Apollo found in the Serapeum of Alexandria has suggested to Sir Peter Fraser «that there was in the mind of the dedicant some link between at least one aspect of Apollo and one aspect of Sarapis»<sup>36</sup>. The name Σαραπαπόλλων, though of a later date, would support this hypothesis, especially as one of the

<sup>31</sup> See D.J. THOMPSON, *Memphis under the Ptolemies*, Princeton 1988, p. 24-25, 209-211 (the exact location of the Asclepieion is not certain).

<sup>32</sup> See J.-C. GRENIER, *Anubis Alexandrin et Romain*, Leiden 1977, p. 108-132, 168-170.

<sup>33</sup> I leave aside polytheophoric names compounded with Ἀντίνοος.

<sup>34</sup> On the associations between Horus and Thoth, cf. J. QUAEGBEUR, *Teëphibis, dieu oraculaire?*, *Enchoria* 5 (1975), p. 19-24, at 23 n. 36.

<sup>35</sup> Cf. F. DUNAND, *Le culte d'Isis dans le bassin oriental de la méditerranée* III, Leiden 1973, p. 59.

<sup>36</sup> *Ptolemaic Alexandria*, p. 196. See also W. HORNBOSTEL, *Sarapis. Studien zur Überlieferungsgeschichte, den Erscheinungsformen und Wandlungen der Gestalt eines Gottes*, Leiden 1973, p. 304 n. 11, on the representation of Sarapis, Apollo and Isis on a gem («Vielleicht führt hier die Funktion als Orakel- oder Heilgötter Sarapis und Apollon zusammen»).



name's bearers is an Alexandrian. It is possible, however, that the equation Apollo = Harpocrates is again operative here, since Sarapis and Harpocrates (along with Isis and Anubis) are closely linked as members of the Alexandrian 'divine family' (cf. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria* 259–262). The assimilation of Sarapis as *pantheos/kosmokrator* to Zeus manifest in the name Διοσάραπις is well known, especially through iconography<sup>37</sup>. The name Σαραποηράκλειος can be linked to a composite statuette showing Sarapis in the poise of Heracles and holding a club, which suggests an identification of the two gods in the Roman period<sup>38</sup>. The name Ἑρμηρακλῆς is a problematic case. J. Schwartz postulates a syncretic funerary god Ἑρμηρακλῆς on the evidence of some seals, but without any support from textual sources<sup>39</sup>. The two instances of the personal name Ἑρμηρακλῆς that emerged since Schwartz's thesis need not imply the recognition of an actual god of that name (contrast Hermanubis above, for whose independent divinity there is firm evidence). It remains unclear whether Ἑρμηρακλῆς is based on the close Greek association, common in Egypt, of Hermes and Heracles as tutelary gods of gymnasia, or on the Egyptian syncretism of Thoth and Chonsu<sup>40</sup>.

These brief notes on polytheophoric names' possible religious presuppositions suggest that if *some* names were based on the Hellenistic adoption of Egyptian religious ideas and thus grew in an 'Egyptianizing' context, it is *a fortiori* possible that they were indirectly inspired by the Egyptian practice of joining two theonyms in one personal name. This hypothesis does not require us to assume that the Greek names are direct translations of Egyptian ones.

<sup>37</sup> Cf. FRASER, *Ptolemaic Alexandria*, p. 259; HORNOSTEL, *Sarapis*, p. 22 n. 1, 24, 190, 234 (oracle question to Διὶ Ἡλίῳι μεγάλῳ Σεράπ[ι]δι in *P. Oxy.* VIII 1149.1–2 [II]; add *P. Oxy.* XLII 3078.1 [II]), 310, 318, 343 (coins with ZEYΣ ΣΑΡΑΠΙΣ caption), 353–354 (dedication Διὶ Σαράπιδι).

<sup>38</sup> See FRASER, *Ptolemaic Alexandria*, p. 208, 354–355 n. 156; HORNOSTEL, *Sarapis*, p. 24 n. 1. Cf. also the Ptolemaic dedication, found in Canopus, to Sarapis, Isis and Heracles (*SB* V 8124 = BERNAND, *Delta* I, 246.17); but there Heracles may be identified with Melqart given the Semitic name of the dedicant (see FRASER, *Ptolemaic Alexandria*, p. 208).

<sup>39</sup> *Hermeracles*, *ASAE* 45 (1947), p. 37–49. Cf. also the same author's *Herméracles et le syncrétisme religieux en Égypte romaine*, *ASAE* 47 (1947), p. 223–247.

<sup>40</sup> For the latter see D. REDFORD, *A Rammesside Stela from East Karnak*, *BES* 10 (1989/90), p. 129–135, at 130–131.

## CONCLUSION AND SOCIO-HISTORICAL CONTEXT

To sum up: Greek polytheophoric names were in vogue in Egypt from the second to the fourth century AD and continue to be attested sporadically later. They were predominantly found among males of the middle and upper classes of some *metropoleis*, particularly Hermopolis and neighbouring Antinoopolis. Although these names have some indirect formal precedents in Greek onomastics, it is the similar class of Egyptian polytheophoric names that supplies the most plausible background for them. There is no strong evidence to suggest that the Greek names are direct *interpretationes Graecae* of Egyptian ones; but since many of the divine juxtapositions in Greek polytheophoric names can be explained by reference to Egyptian religious ideas and often seem to involve Hellenized Egyptian gods, it seems likely that the Greek practice followed an Egyptian model. Besides their formal oddity, then, these names illustrate another aspect of the interaction between Greek and Egyptian religions in the Roman period<sup>41</sup>.

To describe an onomastic 'fashion' and analyze its formal background and religious implications does not amount to explaining the reasons for its emergence. Why did Greek polytheophoric names become popular precisely in the second century of Roman rule and in certain regions of Egypt rather than others? To offer a tentative answer to this question we must return to the socio-historical context in which these names began to flourish. Their emergence coincides with the growing prosperity and self-administration that accompanied the 'municipalization' of the *metropoleis* under Roman rule prior to the Severan reforms<sup>42</sup>. The names could perhaps be seen as an expression of the self-assertiveness of the

<sup>41</sup> Cf. F. DUNAND, *Les syncrétismes dans la religion de l'Égypte romaine*, in F. DUNAND and P. LÉVÊQUE (eds.), *Les syncrétismes dans les religions de l'antiquité*, Leiden 1975, p. 152-185; DUNAND, *Syncrétisme ou coexistence: images du religieux dans l'Égypte tardive*, in C. BONNET and A. MOTTE (eds.), *Les syncrétismes religieux dans le monde méditerranéen antique*, Bruxelles 1999, p. 97-116.

<sup>42</sup> See A.K. BOWMAN and D. RATHBONE, *Cities and Administration in Roman Egypt*, *JRS* 82 (1992), p. 107-127. Bowman and Rathbone trace this trend to the beginning of Roman rule, but they acknowledge that there is a marked increase in its momentum during the second century; cf. especially p. 123: «civic self-consciousness clearly grew and metropolite officials acquired more responsibilities in [the second] century»; «the growth of civic rivalry and the spreading ideology of euergetism led to a boom in new building projects in the second century»; p. 127: «Metropolite families with large estates accumulated over generations and a tradition of office-holding now [i.e. in the second century] emerge».

landowning 'Hellenic' class of metropolites that was driving as well benefiting from this trend<sup>43</sup>. The names, in other words, were an élite naming practice, another social marker by which individuals of this class distinguished themselves from villagers and lower strata of metropolites. It is suggestive that the name bearers in the second century, that is, in the earliest phase of the 'fashion', include a strategus (Ἡρακλαπολλώνιος), a royal scribe (Σαραπάνουβις), an *archiereus* (Ἀσκλάνουβις), a gymnasiarch (Σαραποηράκλειος), the father of a gymnasiarch (Ἡρακλαπόλλων), a metropolite owner of rural property (Ὁσαραπόλλων), and possibly a shipowner (Ἑρμαπόλλων). The Hermopolite and Antinoopolite concentration of the names is perhaps not accidental considering that this is the century when the proud 'Hellenic' city of Antinoopolis was founded and «when most of the fine civic monuments of Hermopolis Magna were erected»<sup>44</sup>. If the proposed correlation of polytheophoric names with the increasing self-consciousness and self-demarcation of the metropolite élite is close to the mark, it is interesting that individuals of this class created Greek names that distinctively recall Egyptian onomastic practice and religious conceptions. This can be seen as an expression of local patriotism and the inter-city rivalry that characterized the municipalization of the *metropoleis*. Ἀσκλάνουβις in Memphis, Ἑρμαπόλλων in Hermopolis, Ἡρακλαντίνοος in Antinoopolis, and Βησαπόλλων in Panopolis: each city flagged through its polytheophoric names one of its locally emblematic or popular gods in association with another closely related god.

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<sup>43</sup> Such self-assertiveness would be comparable to the change in some cities' titulations around the mid-second century, for which see BOWMAN and RATHBONE, *loc. cit.*, p. 122-123 with n. 86.

<sup>44</sup> BOWMAN and RATHBONE, *loc. cit.*, p. 123.

APPENDIX I:  
GREEK POLYTHEOPHORIC NAMES

The first column lists the instances of each name. Identical individuals are listed together, but where there is doubt they are listed separately. Special forms of names are given between parentheses.

The second column specifies the provenance and date of the document in which the name is attested.

The third column specifies the provenance of the individual bearing the name, when it is known. When there is no good reason to suspect that an individual has a different provenance from that of the papyrus, the papyrus' provenance is retained as his probable provenance.

The final column indicates the profession, functions or social status of the name bearers (where known). Villagers are explicitly indicated. Family relations bearing a theophoric name whose deity is a component of the polytheophoric name are signaled, though this need not be significant.

\* Ασκληπιούβις

<i>SB</i> I 3462.1–2	Memph. (BL VII 180); 154 (BL X 176)	Memph.?	
<i>P. Ross. Georg.</i> II 21.4, 12	Memph.; before 155/6	Memph.	<i>Archiereus</i> of Hadrianeion
<i>P. Lips.</i> I 11r.9	Memph.; III	Memph.?	Weaver
Βησαντίνοος			
<i>SPP</i> XX 68.II.vi.9	Herm.; III	Herm.	
<i>P. Herm. Landl.</i> G 285, F 492	Herm.; IV	?	
<i>P. Herm. Landl.</i> G 335, F 552	Herm.; IV	?	
<i>P. Herm. Landl.</i> G 550, F 769, 819	Herm.; IV	?	

<i>P. Herm. Landl. F 596</i>	Herm.; IV	?	
<i>P. Herm. Landl. Add. 35</i>	Herm.; IV	?	
Βησαπόλων			
<i>SB V 7666.3</i>	Panop.; 330	Panop.	Village tenant; son of Ὀρκατῆτος
<i>P. Lips. I 46.5, 19 (BL I 208)</i>	Panop.; 371	Panop.	Father of former archon Apollonius
<i>SB XX 14467.8</i>	?; VI	?	Scholasticus
Διονυσαντίνοος			
<i>PSI III 199.22</i>	Oxy.; 203	Ant.	Prytanis and <i>grammateus</i> of the <i>boule</i>
Διοσάρατις			
<i>P. Bub. II 5</i>	Bubastos; 205/6	?	Strategus
Ἑρμαντίνοος			
<i>SB I 4962.12</i>	Ant.; II/III	Ant.?	
<i>SPP V 69.17</i>	Herm.; 268	Herm.?	
<i>P. Lips. I 100.iv.12</i>	Herm.?.; IV	Herm.?	
<i>P. Herm. Landl. G 392, F 603</i>	Herm.; IV	Herm.?	
<i>P. Herm. Landl. F 596</i>	Herm.; IV	Ant.	
<i>P. Herm. Landl. F 600</i>	Herm.; IV	Ant.	ἀπὸ σκριβ(ῶν)
<i>P. Harrauer 48.ii.12</i>	Heracl.?.; IV/V	Heracl.?	

## Ἑρμαπόλλων, Ἑρμαπολλωνία

<i>O. Ont. Mus.</i> II 287.15	Denderah; after 130	?	Herm.? See Litinas, <i>AncSoc</i> 37 (2007) 101 n. 26
<i>SB</i> VIII 9869 B.7, 20 (?)	Herm.; 160	Herm.	
<i>BGU</i> IX 1898.230	Ars.; 172	?	
<i>O. Claud.</i> II 374.4	Mons Claud.; II	?	Soldier ( <i>familiaris</i> )
<i>SB</i> XVIII 13167v.ii.29	?; II	?	Owner or captain of ship
<i>P. Amst.</i> I 70.20	?; II/III	?	Herm.? See Litinas, <i>loc. cit.</i> 101 n. 19
<i>SB</i> I 678.29	Herm.; c. 200	Herm.?	
<i>P. Flor.</i> I 2.14	Herm.; 265	Herm.	Comarch
<i>P. Flor.</i> I 2.178	Herm.; 265	Herm.	Father of a comarch (different from preceding)
<i>P. Corn.</i> 12.7, 12, 25	Ant.; 283 ( <i>BL</i> VIII 89)	Ant.	Addressed together with a <i>bouleutes</i>
<i>MChr.</i> 171.i.7, 26, 33, ii.3, 14; <i>P. Stras.</i> VI 594.4	Herm.; 293	Herm.	Guarantor of a <i>bouleutes</i> in sale of slave
<i>T. Mom. Louvre</i> 592.2-3 (Ἑρμαπολλωνία)	?; III	?	
<i>P. Lund</i> II 4.1-2 (= <i>SB</i> V 8091)	?; III	?	
<i>P. Vind. Sijp.</i> 15.1, 20, 23	Herm.; III/IV	Herm.	Father of <i>bouleutes</i>
<i>BGU</i> XVII 2699A.5-6, B.5-6	Herm.; 309	Herm.	Father of horse owner
<i>CPR</i> XVIIA 3.25	Herm.; 314	Herm.	Father of guard of a city-quarter; same as <i>P. Herm. Landl.</i> G 54, F 73, 251, 416?

<i>SB XIV 11972</i> fr. A.5 = <i>SB XXII 15311</i>	Herm.; 367/8	Herm.	Father of sitologus
<i>P. Lips.</i> 17.28-9, 23.31-2	Herm.; 377, 374-390	Herm.	Flavius; ἀπὸ δφ(φικιαλίων) ἐπυτροπ(ῆς); son of Apollinarius
<i>SB XXIV 16319.i.13</i>	Herm.; IV	Herm.	
<i>SB XXIV 16319.i.38</i>	Herm.; IV	Herm.	
<i>SB XVI 12828.17</i>	Herm. ?; IV	Herm. ?	
<i>CPR VIII 45.4</i>	Herm.; IV	Herm.	ὁς καὶ Ἑρμείας
<i>P. Herm. Landl. passim (16 individuals)</i>	Herm.; IV	Herm. (3 Ant.)	One is son of a <i>primipiliarius</i> (G 339); another is ἀβρέβις = <i>a breviiis</i> (G 390)
<i>P. Lips.</i> 99.ii.8	Herm.; IV	Herm.	
<i>P. Lips.</i> 100.iv.17	Herm. ?; IV	Herm. ?	
<i>P. Lips.</i> 101.ii.29	Herm.; IV	Herm.	
<i>P. Lips.</i> 101.ii.30	Herm.; IV	Herm.	
<i>P. Lond.</i> V 1826	Herm. ?; IV	Herm. ?	Same as <i>P. Herm. Landl.</i> F 71, 388?
<i>P. Ryl.</i> IV 651.3	?; IV	?	βοηθός
<i>P. Stras.</i> VIII 739.14	Herm.; IV	Herm.	
<i>P. Stras.</i> VIII 777.15	Herm.; IV	Herm.	λογόγραφος
<i>P. Select</i> 18.2	Herm. ? ( <i>BL X</i> 113); IV	Herm. ?	
<i>P. Lond.</i> III 1244.2 (p. 244)	?; IV	?	
<i>P. Lips.</i> 98.i.6	?; IV	?	
<i>P. Laur.</i> I 18.3, 11	?; IV/V	?	βοηθός



<i>PSI XII 1239.26 (= SB V 7996)</i>	Ant.; 430	?	οἰκὼν ἐν Ἀντινόου (cf. Litinas, <i>loc. cit.</i> 101 n. 28)
<i>ChLA XI 470.7, 10 (Hermapollon)</i>	?; 458	?	
<i>P. Oxy. XVI 1949.1</i>	Oxy.; 481	?	ἀπαιτητής (?)
<i>CPR V 16.5</i>	Herm.; 486	Herm.	διαστολ.εὐς
<i>SB XIV 12050.34, BGU XIX 2773.17, 2813.8</i>	Herm.; 498	Herm.	
<i>PSI IV 304.7</i>	Herm.; V	Herm.	Villager
<i>BGU XIX 2781.5</i>	Herm.; V	Herm.	
<i>P. Stras. VIII 717.6</i>	?; V	?	mandator (?)
<i>P. Prag. II 158.22</i>	Herm.; V/VI	Herm.	βοηθός
<i>P. Lond. V 1801.2, 1802.2</i>	?; V/VI	?	
<i>P. Lond. Copt. 1075 p. 448</i>	?; VI	?	
<i>BGU XVII 2689.17, 19, SB XVI 12603.12</i>	Herm.; VI	Herm.	Notary
<i>BGU XVII 2723.72</i>	Herm.; VI/VII	Herm.	
<i>P. Sorb. II 69.28.50, 47.B3, 115.D5</i>	Herm.; VII	Herm.	Scholasticus
<i>P. Sorb. II 69.67.B1</i>	Herm.; VII	Herm.	
<i>P. Sorb. II 69.39.A1</i>	Herm.; VII	Herm.	
<i>P. Sorb. II 69.29A2, B1</i>	Herm.; VII	Herm.	
<i>P. Sorb. II 69.84.E22</i>	Herm.; VII	Herm.	
<i>P. Herm. I 85.1</i>	?; VII	?	

Ἑρμηνρακλῆς / Ἑρμηνράκλειος

<i>P. Ross. Georg.</i> II 36 fr. c.8; <i>SB XVIII</i> 13742.77	Ars.; 130-150 ( <i>BL IX</i> 226)	Alex.	Father of an Alexandrian citizen
<i>SB VI</i> 9396.3 (Ἑρμηνράκλειος)	Ars.; VI	Ars.?	

*Note:* cf. the Hemopolite ἐποίκτον Ἑρμηνρακλέους in *P. Col. IX* 247.293 (c. 324-6) = *SB XX* 14661 (see *BL XII* 54). This hamlet was presumably named after a current or former owner by the name of Ἑρμηνρακλῆς.

Ἡρακλαντίνιος

<i>P. Vind. Bosw.</i> 2.6-7	Antin.; 248	Antin.	Son of a <i>bouleutes</i>
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Ἡρακλαπόλλων / Ἡρακλαπολλώνιος

<i>P. Stras.</i> I 23.8, 13b, 67	Herm; I/II	Herm.	Father of Apollonius
<i>P. Leit.</i> 11.1 (Ἡρακλαπολλώνιος; <i>BL VIII</i> 168-9)	Ars.; 186	?	Strategus
<i>P. RyI.</i> II 77.33	Herm.; 192	Herm.	Father of ex-gymnasiarch Apollonius
<i>SPP XX</i> 58 fr. A.i.16	Herm.; c. 265/6	Herm.	Ex-prytanis
<i>I. Herm.</i> 16.3 = <i>SB IV</i> 7309	Herm; Imp. period	Herm.?	Father of a dedicator of a votive statue

Ἡρακλερμάνουβις

<i>SPP XX</i> 20.15	Heracl.?.; 211	?	
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## Σαραπάνουβις

<i>P. Oxy.</i> XLI 2968.10	Oxy.; 190	?	Royal scribe
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*Note:* the editors cite as a parallel Σαραπανοῦπις (*sic*) in *SB* I 5272.31 (Memph.; 304), but the name there (and in line 37) is Σαράνουπις, on whose ambiguous form see above, p. 80 n. 25.

## Σαραπαπόλλων / Σαραπόλλων / \*Οσσαραπόλλων

<i>P. Brux.</i> I 18.2, 16, 27 (*Οσσαραπόλλων)	Prosop.; 174	Prosop.	Metropolite owner of village property; son of Apollonius
<i>BGU</i> II 649.7-8 = <i>WChr.</i> 428 (Σαραπαπόλλων)	Pharbitihite; 187/8	Alex.	Grandson of Sarapion
<i>CPR</i> XVIIA 3.13 (Σαραπόλλων)	Herm.; 314	Herm.	Guard of a city-quarter

*Note:* cf. Σεραπόλων in *IG* X.2 543.1 (Thessalonike; III).

## Σαραπονηράκλειος

<i>SB</i> XXII 15632.1	Hibeh; 177-180	Heracl.	Gymnasiarch
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## APPENDIX II:

EGYPTIAN POLYTHEOPHORIC NAMES IN THE *DEMOTISCHES NAMENBUCH*

Page references to *NB Dem.* are between parentheses. Doubtful instances are indicated with [?]. Names in *imm-r'* (= Amun-Re) are excluded. Only the gods associated are indicated after '=<sup>2</sup>', not the full translation of the name.

*īst-īmn-tp-...[?]* (90) = Isis-Amun

*wsir-tḥwtj* [?] (134) = Osiris-Thoth

*wsir-ḥnsw* [?] (134) = Osiris-Chonsu

*bs-mwt* (147) = Bes-Mut

*p3-šr-wsir-bḥ* (233) = Osiris-Bouchis

*p3-ti-wsir-wn-nfr* (300) = Osiris-Onnophris

*p3-ti-wsir-p3-hb* (301) = Osiris-Ibis (i.e. Osiris-Thoth?)

*p3-ti-wsir-ḥ'ḥj* [?] (527) = Osiris-Hapy

*p3-ti-wsir-ḥp* (302) = Osiris-Apis

*p3-hb-ḥr* [?] (504) = Ibis-Horus (i.e. Thoth-Horus?)

*mnt-bl* (597) = Montu-Baal

*ns-šw-tfn.t* (691) = Shu-Tefnut

*ḥr-ij-m-ḥtp* (789) = Horus-Imouthes

*ḥr-wn-nfr* (794) = Horus-Onnophris

*ḥr-bs* (800) = Horus-Bes

*ḥr-p3-r'* (803) = Horus-Re ('Harpres')

*ḥr-m3j-ḥs* (815) = Horus-Miyusis (?)

cf. *t3-šr.t-wsir-bḥ* (1094)

cf. *t3-šr.t-wsir-p3-hb* (1095)

cf. *p3-ti-ḥr-ij-m-ḥtp* [?] (534)

cf. *p3-ḥr-bs* (205)

cf. *p3-ti-ḥr-p3-r'* (326), *t3-šr.t-ḥr-p3-r'* (1141), *t3-ti-ḥr-p3-r'* (1158)

cf. *t3-šr.t-ḥr-m3j-ḥs* (1142), *ta-ḥr-m3j-ḥs* (1206)

*hr-mnt* (818) = Horus-Montu  
*hr-h'p'j* (829) = Horus-Hapy  
*hr-hp* (829) = Horus-Apis  
*hr-hnsw* (832) = Horus-Chonsu  
*hr-hnm* [?] (862) = Horus-Chnum  
*hr-šj* (838) = Horus-Shai  
*hr-twtw* (841) = Horus-Tutu/Tithoes  
*hr-thwtj* (841) = Horus-Thoth  
  
*hnsw-thwtj* (881) = Chonsu-Thoth  
*hnsw-hr* [?] (885) = Chonsu-Horus  
  
*sbk-mn* (916) = Souchos-Min  
*sbk-ptj* [?] (954) = Souchos-Ptah  
  
*twtw-šj* (1275) = Tithoes-Shai  
*twtw-hr* [?] (1341) = Tithoes-Horus

cf. *wḏ3-hr-hnsw* [?] (135), *pa-hr-hnsw* [?] (556)  
 cf. *hr-p3-šj* [?] (857)  
 cf. *ns-hr-thwtj* (688)  
 cf. *p3-šr-hnsw-thwtj* [?] (519),  
*t3-rmt.t-hnsw-thwtj* (1073), *t3-šr.t-hnsw-thwtj* (1144)

TABLE 1:  
COMPOSITION AND FREQUENCIES OF GREEK POLYTHEOPHORIC NAMES  
(excluding names in -αμμων)

	-άνουβις	-αντίνοος	-απόλλων -απολλώνιος	-ερμάνουβις	-ηρακλῆς -ηράκλειος	-σάραπις
ἸΑσκλ-	3					
Βησ-		6	3			
Διο-						1
Διονυσ-		1				
ἸΕρμ-		7	69		2	
ἸΗρακλ-		1	5	1		
ἸΟσαρ(απ)- Σαρ(απ)- Σαραπο-	1		3		1	

TABLE 2:  
CHRONOLOGICAL DISTRIBUTION OF GREEK POLYTHEOPHORIC NAMES  
(papyri straddling centuries are counted in the previous century)

	I	II	III	IV	V	VI + VII	'Imper. period'
*Ασκλάνουβις		2	1				
Βησαντίνοος			1	5			
Βησαπόλων				2		1	
Διονυσαντίνοος			1				
Διοσάραπις			1				
*Ερμαντίνοος		1	1	5			
*Ερμαπόλων etc.		7	7	36	10	9	
*Ερμηρακλῆς etc.		1				1	
*Ηρακλαντίνοος			1				
*Ηρακλαπόλων etc.	1	2	1				1
*Ηρακλερμάνουβις			1				
Σαραπάνουβις		1					
Σαραπαπόλων etc.		2		1			
Σαραπονηράκλειος		1					
TOTAL	1	17	15	49	10	11	1



TABLE 3:  
PROVENANCE OF INDIVIDUALS WITH GREEK POLYTHEOPHORIC NAMES WHERE KNOWN OR DEDUCIBLE  
(including doubtful instances)

	Alexandrian	Antinoite	Arsinoite	Heracleopolite	Hermopolite	Memphite	Panopolite	Prosopite
Ἀσκλάνουβις						3		
Βησαντίνοος					6			
Βησαπόλλων							2	
Διονυσαντίνοος		1						
Διοσάραπις								
Ἑρμαντίνοος		3		1	3			
Ἑρμαπόλλων etc.		4			47			
Ἑρμηρακλῆς etc.	1		1					
Ἡρακλαντίνοος		1						
Ἡρακλαπόλλων etc.					4			
Ἡρακλερμάνουβις								
Σαραπάνουβις								
Σαραπαπόλλων etc.	1				1			1
Σαραποηράκλειος				1				
TOTAL	2	9	1	2	61	3	2	1

## LES COLLECTEURS DE TAXES À JÊMÉ D'AUGUSTE À CLAUDE\*

À Nathalie et Richard,  
*Reipublicae denariorum custodes*

*Abstract:* Étude des collecteurs de taxes qui travaillaient pour la banque de Jémé durant la première moitié du premier siècle de notre ère. La première partie dresse une liste des ostraca portant la mention de la formule «parmi les hommes de» (*hn n3 rmt.w n*) qui indique que le contribuable faisait partie d'un groupe qui payait ses impôts auprès d'un collecteur attitré. L'examen de ces documents permet d'isoler presque une vingtaine de noms de collecteurs et de mettre en relief la dualité de la documentation fiscale. Ainsi, à côté des reçus en bonne et due forme ont fleuri des reçus officieux liés à l'activité des collecteurs. Notamment, des 'fantômes' de reçus remis au contribuable lorsque le collecteur avait oublié le document officiel ainsi qu'une catégorie de pièces dans lesquelles le collecteur déclare avoir perçu le montant de l'impôt de la part du contribuable dont la fonction nous échappe. Ce dossier permet enfin d'établir une chronologie assez précise de la diffusion du grec dans l'administration fiscale de Haute Égypte: le dernier reçu démotique officiel est daté de 40, le dernier reçu officieux de 56/57.

*Boni pastoris esse tondere pecus, non deglubere:* «C'est le propre du bon berger que de tondre les brebis, non de les écorcher». Ainsi, se serait exprimé Tibère à l'encontre du préfet d'Égypte Aemilius Rectus lorsque ce dernier lui présenta une recette fiscale supérieure au montant qui avait été fixé par l'administration<sup>1</sup>.

Dans le tableau de la fiscalité de l'Égypte romaine, une catégorie de personnes joue un rôle essentiel mais demeure paradoxalement dans l'ombre. Celle des collecteurs de taxes. Dans la littérature, le métier a certes une très mauvaise réputation, Philon nous a laissé un témoignage glaçant à son sujet montrant la cruauté dont pouvait faire preuve un

\* Je remercie les Professeurs Chauveau et Clarysse ainsi que mes amis Gilles Gorre et Anne-Emmanuelle Veisse pour la relecture patiente et amicale qu'ils firent de ce travail.

<sup>1</sup> Cette parole est rapportée par Suétone, *Tib.* 32 et Dion Cassius LVII 10.5, citée par J.J. AUBERT, *Le vocabulaire fiscal en Égypte gréco-romaine*, dans J. ANDREAU et V. CHANKOWSKI (éds), *Vocabulaire et expression de l'économie dans le monde antique* (Ausonius Éditions, Études 19), Bordeaux 2007, p. 386 n. 3.

collecteur à l'encontre de la famille et des voisins d'un contribuable en fuite: d'abord soumis à la torture, les malheureux pouvaient finir assassinés par les agents du fisc<sup>2</sup>. Même si on devine ce qu'elle peut avoir d'exagéré, l'anecdote permet de mesurer le pouvoir qu'exerçait cette profession sur la population.

La documentation que nous allons étudier dans cet article nous permet de passer de l'autre côté du miroir et d'envisager le métier de collecteur non du point de vue du contribuable mais avec les yeux de ceux qui sont chargés de récolter les impôts. Pour cela nous allons recourir aux documents qui «signent» leur activité: les reçus de taxes.

Les documents que nous étudierons ici ont été rédigés en démotique et émis par la banque<sup>3</sup> de Jêmé au premier siècle de notre ère. Les banques ont joué un rôle essentiel dans le système de perception ptolémaïque puis romain. Les banquiers maîtrisaient les techniques de comptabilité, étaient à même d'accueillir dans leurs établissements des sommes importantes et pouvaient procéder à des transferts de fonds vers le trésor d'Alexandrie<sup>4</sup>.

La ville dans laquelle se trouvait l'établissement dont nous allons examiner l'activité était située en face de Diospolis Magna sur la rive gauche du Nil et faisait partie du nome hermonthite<sup>5</sup>. L'activité de cette banque est attestée par au moins 84 reçus démotiques<sup>6</sup> qui la mentionnent

<sup>2</sup> Philon, *De specialibus legibus* III §159-162 (Philo, Vol. VII, LCL, Londres 1950, p. 574-577). Ce passage est notamment analysé par L. CAPPONI, *Augustan Egypt. The Creation of a Roman Province*, London-New York 2005, p. 135.

<sup>3</sup> Pour comprendre le fonctionnement de ce type d'établissement, l'article de synthèse de R. BOGAERT, *Les opérations des banques de l'Égypte ptolémaïque*, *AncSoc* 29 (1998-1999), p. 49-145, est fondamental même s'il concerne avant tout la période hellénistique.

<sup>4</sup> L. CAPPONI, *Augustan Egypt* (n. 2), p. 133.

<sup>5</sup> A. BATAILLE, *Les Memnonia*, Le Caire 1952.

<sup>6</sup> Aux 80 documents repérés par R. BOGAERT, *Liste géographique des banques et des banquiers de l'Égypte romaine*, 30<sup>A</sup>-284, *ZPE* 109 (1995) p. 133-173, p. 168-169, il faut ajouter les trois publiés par S.P. VLEEMING, *Ostraka Varia* (P.L. Bat., 26), Leyde 1994, n° 58 (p. 137-138), n° 59 (p. 139-140), n° 62 (p. 147-148) et un reçu inédit découvert au Museum d'histoire naturelle de Lyon (n° inventaire: 90002962).

Pour désigner ces documents nous reprendrons les abréviations employées par R. BOGAERT, *Trapezitica Aegyptiaca. Recueil de recherches sur la banque en Égypte gréco-romaine* (Papyrologica Florentina, 25), Florence 1994, p. 153:

ODL: D. DEVAUCHELLE, *Ostraca démotiques du Musée du Louvre*, I-II (BdE, 92 1-2), Le Caire 1983.

O. Leid. dém.: M.A.A. NUR EL-DIN, *The Demotic Ostraca in the National Museum of Antiquities at Leiden*, Leiden 1974.

O. Mattha: G. MATTHA, *Demotic Ostraca from the Collections at Oxford, Paris, Berlin, Vienna and Cairo*, Le Caire 1945.

explicitement sous le nom de «banque des Quartiers<sup>7</sup> nord» (*shn n n3 'wy.w mht.w*)<sup>8</sup>. Les quittances rédigées en démotique qui émanent de cette institution s'étalent sur une période allant de l'an 3 d'Auguste (10-9 av. J.-C.)<sup>9</sup> à l'an 5 de Caligula (40 ap. J.-C.)<sup>10</sup>. Voici un exemple de ce type de document:

OMH 19

*Glyn s3 'Imn-htp hr p3y=f hm.t n 'pi.t  
n h3.t-sp 6 sttr 2.t hn n3 rmt.w n Hr-s3-'Is.t  
s3 Hnsw-t3y=f-nht.t*

Kléon fils d'Aménouthès, pour son cuivre de la capitation  
de l'an 6, deux statères, parmi les hommes de Harsisiés  
fils de Chestehphnaches.

Apparaît d'abord le nom du contribuable, la nature puis le montant de l'impôt ainsi que l'année fiscale. Le nom de la banque est parfois indiqué. Comme c'est le cas pour OMH 19 certains ostraca portent, à la suite de l'année fiscale, la mention suivante: «parmi les gens de X, fils de Y» (*hn n3 rmt.w n h s3 Y*)<sup>11</sup>. Cette formule a intrigué les éditeurs et les commentateurs de ces textes. Pour en préciser le sens, commençons par rassembler les différentes attestations de celle-ci.

OMH: M. LICHTHEIM, *Demotic Ostraca from Medinet Habu* (Oriental Institute Publications 80), Chicago 1955.

Or. Suec.: *Orientalia Suecana*, Uppsala.

O. Wängstedt: S.V. WÄNGSTEDT, *Ausgewählte demotische Ostraka aus der Sammlung des Viktoria-Museums zu Uppsala und der staatlichen Papyrussammlung zu Berlin*, Uppsala 1954.

<sup>7</sup> R. MÜLLER-WOLLERMAN, *Demotische Termini zur Landesgliederung Ägyptens*, dans J.H. JOHNSON (éd.), *Life in a Multi-Cultural Society* (SAOC, 51), p. 243-251: le mot démotique *n3 'wy.w* signifie «maisons» mais aussi «lieux» et correspond aussi au grec *topoi* ou *toparchia* (p. 244-245).

<sup>8</sup> Sur le fait que la banque à Jémé est la seule qui soit située aux Memnonia, on pourra se reporter, en dernier lieu, aux arguments développés par R. BOGAERT, *La banque des Memnonia*, ZPE 86 (1991), p. 259-263, en réponse à K.A. WÖRPER, *Studies on Greek Ostraca from the Theban Region, II. Was there a Bank at the Memnonia in the Roman Period?*, ZPE 76 (1989), p. 52-55.

<sup>9</sup> Or. Suec. 19/20 (1970-1971), p. 33, n° 9.

<sup>10</sup> O. Mattha 96.

<sup>11</sup> Il s'agit des formulaires XIV (1) et (2) dans la typologie d'O. Mattha, p. 23.

## 1. DOSSIER DOCUMENTAIRE

L'examen des différentes pièces comportant cette formule permet de les regrouper en fonction des anthroponymes qui apparaissent à la suite du mot «gens» (*rmṯ.w*)<sup>12</sup>. Dans chaque groupe, les ostraca sont classés chronologiquement.

Groupe 1. Portant la mention: «parmi les gens de Harsiese fils de Chestehphnaches» (*hn n3 rmṯ.w n Hr-s3-'Is.t s3 Hnsw-t3y=f-nḥṯ.t*)

1. *OMH* 19; an 6; capitation (*hm.t n 'pe*).
2. *OMH* 21; an 24; capitation (*hm.t n 'pe*).
3. *OMH* 22; an 24; capitation (*hm.t n 'pe*).
4. *OMH* 25; an 26; capitation (*hr p3 ḥḏ n 'p.t*).  
Mention de la banque des Quartiers nord.
5. *OMH* 26; an 26; capitation (*hr p3 ḥḏ n 'p.t*).  
Mention de la banque des Quartiers nord.

Les hommes de Harsiese sont attestés sur une longue durée:  
une vingtaine d'années.

Groupe 2. Portant la mention: «parmi les gens de Petehor fils de Peteharpbek» (*hn n3 rmṯ.w n P3-dī-Hr-p3-bk*)

1. *O. Wångstedt* 24; an 32; taxe sur la rétribution des bains  
(*hr p3 ḥnt n s.t-iywn*)
2. *O. Wångstedt* 23; an 33; taxe sur la rétribution des bains  
(*hr p3 ḥnt n s.t-iywn*).
3. *O. Mattha* 153; an 35; taxe sur la rétribution des bains  
(*hr p3 ḥnt n s.t-iywn*)
4. *O. Wångstedt* 26; an 36; taxe sur la rétribution des bains  
(*hr p3 ḥnt n s.t-iywn*).
5. *O. Zürich* 6; An 39; capitation (*hr p3 ḥḏ n 'p.t*).

Groupe 3. Portant la mention: «parmi les gens de Peftumonth» (*hn n3 rmṯ.w n P3-4-Mnt*)

1. *O. Mattha* 26; an 19; capitation (*ḥḏ 'pe.t*).
2. *O. Mattha* 30; an 27; capitation (*ḥḏ 'py.t*).

<sup>12</sup> J'avais donné une première liste de ces documents dans mon compte-rendu de l'ouvrage de G.R. HUGHES, *Catalog of Demotic Texts in the Brooklyn Museum* (OIC, 29), Chicago 2005 paru dans *BiOr* 64 (2007), col. 150-154.

Groupe 4. Portant la mention: «parmi les gens de Pamonthes fils de Paeris» (*hn n3 rmt.w n Pa-Mnt s3 Pa-îry*)

1. *O. Toronto* D 16<sup>13</sup>; an 25; capitation (*hr hđ 'pe.t*)
2. *OMH* 27; an 29; capitation (*hr p3 hđ n 'p.t*).  
Mention de la banque des Quartiers nord.

Groupe 5. Portant la mention: «parmi les gens de Pamonthes fils de Pshenanubis» (*hn n3 rmt.w n Pa-Mnt s3 P3-šr-n-'Inp*)

1. *OMH* 98; an 25; pour la somme sur les graines du champ (*hr swn pr n šh.t*)<sup>14</sup>. Mention de la banque des Quartiers nord.
2. *O. Mattha* 259; an 25; pour la somme sur les graines du champ (*hr swn pr (n) šh.t*). Mention de la banque des Quartiers nord.

Dans les deux cas, les sommes perçues correspondaient à un retard de paiement de l'an 23.

Groupe 6. Portant la mention: «parmi les gens de Piko fils de Horonophris» (*hn n3 rmt.w n P3y-k3 s3 Hr-wn-nfr*)

1. *OMH* 28; an 30; capitation (*hr p3 hđ 'pł.t*). Mention de la banque des Quartiers nord.
2. *O. Zürich* 5; an 30; capitation (*hr p3 hđ 'pł.t*). Mention de la banque des Quartiers nord.

Groupe 7. Portant la mention: «parmi les gens de Pamonthes fils de Psenmonthes» (*hn n3 rmt.w n Pa-Mnt s3 P3-šr-Mnt*)

- O. Leid. dém.* 8; an 24; La nature de la taxe a été omise.  
Mention de la banque des Quartiers nord.

Groupe 8. Portant la mention: «parmi les gens de Pamonthes fils de Chestehphnaches» (*hn n3 rmt.w n Hnsw-t3y=f-nht s3 Py-K3*)

- O. Mattha* 183; an 26; taxe des tisserands (*hr p3 tny šh.t*).  
Mention de la banque des Quartiers nord.

Groupe 9. Portant la mention: «parmi les gens de Pohy fils de Pkhembek» (*hn n3 rmt.w n P3-łhy s3 P3-łm-b3k*)

- O. Mattha* 193; an 22; taxe des tisserands (*tny*)

<sup>13</sup> A.H. GARDINER, J.G. MILNE & H. THOMPSON, *Theban Ostraca*, Londres 1913, p. 25 et pl. X.

<sup>14</sup> Sur cette taxe, on se reportera à *ODL*, p. 247 note des lignes 3-4.

Groupe 10. Portant la mention: «parmi les gens de Patsibtis fils de Thotsutes» (*hn n3 rmt.w n Pa-t3-sbt s3 Dhwṭ-sdm*)

*O. Or. Suec.* 19-20 n° VIII p. 32; an 19; capitation (*hr p3 hmt n 'p.t*).

Groupe 11. Portant la mention: «parmi les gens de Pamonthes fils de Hérieus» (*hn n3 rmt.w n Pa-Mnt s3 Hryw*)

*O. Wāngstedt* 22; an 32; taxe sur les bains (*hr t3 s.t-iywn*).

Groupe 12. Portant la mention: «Parmi les gens d'Imouthes» (*hn n3 rmt.w n 'Iy-m-ḥtp*)

*O. Wāngstedt* 25; an 37; taxe sur la rétribution des bains (*hr p3 hnt n s.t-iywn*).

Groupe 13. Portant la mention: «Parmi les gens de Pa...» (*hn n3 rmt.w n P3-...*)

*O. Mattha* 28; an 22; capitation (*hr p3 ḥd 'p.t*)

Groupe 14. Portant la mention: «Parmi les gens de Psobthis fils de Armiosiôs» (*hn n3 rmt.w n P3-šbt s3 Hr-m3y-ḥs*)

*O. Mattha* 20; an 18; «bronze-argent des champs» (*hr p3 hmt ḥd n yḥ*)

Groupe 15. Portant la mention: «Parmi les gens de Padjeme fils de Pauon» (*hn n3 rmt.w n Pa-Dm3 s3 Pa-Wn*)

*O. Mattha* 25; an 14; capitation (*hr p3 ḥd 'pe*)

Groupe 16. Portant la mention: «Parmi les gens de Harpaese fils du même» (*hn n3 rmt.w n Hr-pa-'Is.t s3 sp-2*)

*O. Mattha* 35; an 36; capitation (*ḥd 'pe.t*).

Groupe 17. Portant la mention: «Parmi les gens de Hatre» (*hn n3 rmt.w n Htr*)

*O. Mattha* 37; an 39; capitation (*ḥd 'pe*)

Groupe 18. Portant la mention: «Parmi les gens de Pamonthes fils de Pamonthes fils [de Harsiese]» (*hn n3 rmt.w n Pa-Mnt s3 [Hr-pa-'Is.t]*)

*OMH* 52; an 30. Mention de la banque des Quartiers nord.



Groupe 19. Portant la mention: «Parmi les gens d'Esnakhomnu»  
(*hn n3 rmt.w n Ns-n3y=w-hnm.w*)

OMH 20; an 23; capitation (*hd n 'pi*)

## 2. QUI ÉTAIENT LES *RMT.W*? LA RÉPONSE DU «FANTÔME»

C'est Thompson qui, le premier, se préoccupa du sens de cette mention. Il proposa d'y voir une manière de désigner un groupe de clérouques que l'on identifiait d'après le nom de leur chef<sup>15</sup>. Mattha reprit cette hypothèse en la modifiant. Selon lui, les «gens» seraient les membres d'un corps de travailleurs journaliers désigné par le nom de leur chef d'équipe<sup>16</sup>.

Dans son édition des ostraca découverts par l'Oriental Institute à Médinet Habou, M. Lichtheim reconsidéra l'ensemble du problème. Elle fit remarquer que la mention des «gens» n'existait que dans les reçus datés du règne d'Auguste. De plus, elle nota que, sur les documents où elle apparaissait, il manquait à la fois le nom du collecteur et la signature du banquier<sup>17</sup>. Elle proposa alors d'identifier les «gens» avec des contribuables placés sous la responsabilité d'un collecteur de taxes dont le nom apparaît sur le reçu<sup>18</sup>. Plus tard, R. Bogaert est parvenu à confirmer cette hypothèse en s'appuyant sur un document publié par M. Lichtheim<sup>19</sup>. Voici le texte contenu sur cet ostracon:

OMH 30

*Pa-Mnt s3 Pa-iry p3 nty dd n Hb'*  
*[s3 ] wn sttr 2.t sp n ip hr*  
*hd n 'p'.t n Dm' š'-tw=y in n=k t3*

<sup>15</sup> O. Toronto D 16, p. 25 n. 2.

<sup>16</sup> O. Mattha, p. 23 n. 2.

<sup>17</sup> OMH 20 paraissait constituer une exception à cette règle jusqu'à ce que R.K. Ritner montre que la dernière ligne que Lichtheim avait lu *sh n in mwt* «écrit par In-Mout» devait en fait être comprise comme *rmt n in-mwt p3y* «Un homme décédé»; R.K. RITNER, *Poll Tax on the Dead, Enchoria* 15 (1987), p. 205-207. De toute manière la présence ou l'absence de signature ne prouve rien dans la mesure où les «banquiers» qui travaillaient à la banque de Jémé ne paraphaient presque jamais les reçus qu'ils rédigeaient. Sur la totalité des ostraca étudiés, cinq à peine portent le nom du banquier: R. BOGAERT, *ZPE* 109 (1995), p. 168-169.

<sup>18</sup> M. LICHTHEIM, *Demotic Ostraca from Medinet Habu*, p. 17.

<sup>19</sup> R. BOGAERT, *Banques et banquiers à Thèbes à l'époque romaine*, *ZPE* 57 (1984), p. 279, repris dans R. BOGAERT, *Trapezitica Aegyptiaca* (n. 6), p. 188.

*bld.t n p3 šn bnr n-im=w*  
*sh n h3.t-sp 27 n Gysrs*

1. C'est Pamonthes fils de Paeris qui dit à Habôs
2. [fils de     ]. Il y a deux statères crédités sur le compte<sup>20</sup> de
3. l'argent de la capitation de Jémé jusqu'à ce que je t'[apporte] le
4. tesson de la banque en dehors d'elles<sup>21</sup>.
5. Écrit en l'an 27 de César.

Ce document a trait à Pamonthes fils de Paeris, certainement le même homme qui apparaît dans le groupe 4 du dossier documentaire, il y fait clairement office de collecteur puisqu'il reçoit le paiement de la capitation dû par un certain Habôs.

Ainsi, le dossier étudié ici constitue un contrepoint démotique à la documentation papyrologique sur les collecteurs de taxes, provenant du Fayoum ou de l'Hérakléopolite et datant elle aussi du début de la période romaine<sup>22</sup>. Malheureusement, les sources démotiques sont moins loquaces quant aux conditions dans lesquelles s'effectuaient ces collectes<sup>23</sup>.

Mais la manière dont ces documents ont été rédigés peut nous aider à en savoir un peu plus. En effet, le formulaire de *OMH* 30 diffère par rapport au formulaire classique de *OMH* 19 présenté plus haut. On peut supposer que cette originalité serait due au fait que *OMH* 30 ne concernerait qu'un acompte. Mais un montant de deux statères est attesté dans des reçus dont le formulaire est le même que celui de *OMH* 19. Un autre scénario peut être proposé: Pamonthes a pu se rendre chez Habôs sans s'être muni d'un reçu officiel de la banque. En l'absence de ce document, il n'existait aucune preuve que le contribuable ait bien payé ce qu'il devait. Ainsi, pour que Habôs accepte de lui confier le montant de

<sup>20</sup> L'expression *šp n ip* «recevoir quelque chose pour le compte de», «créditer un compte» est typique du formulaire des reçus d'époque grecque et romaine. Dans *O. Wångstedt*, p. 61-66, on trouve une liste des emplois de cette expression en omettant cependant cette occurrence (les deux livres sont en effet parus à peu près en même temps). On peut ajouter *ODL* 294, l. 3 et *ODL* 47, l. 3 et 4; et le *Cat. Brook. dem.* 14, l. 4 (G.R. HUGHES, *Catalog of Demotic Texts in the Brooklyn Museum* [n. 12], p. 7-8).

<sup>21</sup> Cette formule signifie que le collecteur remettra le reçu sans percevoir de nouveau l'argent.

<sup>22</sup> Pour une présentation générale de cette documentation: D. THOMPSON ET W. CLARYSSE, *Counting the People in Hellenistic Egypt*, Cambridge 2006, vol. II, p. 73-85; L. CAPPONI, *Augustan Egypt* (n. 2), p. 134.

<sup>23</sup> Sur les tournées effectuées par les collecteurs du Fayoum: A.E. HANSON, *Topographical Arrangement of Tax Documents in the Philadelphia Tax Archive, Proceedings of the 20th International Congress of Papyrologists*, Copenhagen 1992, p. 210-218.

l'impôt, Pamonthes a dû rédiger ce fantôme par lequel il reconnaissait avoir perçu l'argent de la capitation et s'engageait à remettre à Habôs un reçu officiel.

### 3. ENCORE UN FORMULAIRE ATYPIQUE

Certains reçus présentent un autre formulaire particulier. Nous prenons ici l'exemple de *OMH* 31.

*OMH* 31

*Hr-s3-'Is.t s3 Pa-Mnt p3 nty dd n*  
*P3-4-Mnt s3 sp-sn s3 Hr- ...*  
*tw=y mh n sttr 4.t / sttr 2.t / [sttr 4.t 'n]*  
*hr p3 h4 n '3'p1 n h.t-sp 43 n Dm'*  
*sh n h3.t-sp 43 n Gsyrs*  
*ibd 4 ...*

C'est Harsiese fils de Pamonthes qui dit à  
 Phthoumonthes fils du même fils de Har...:

“Je suis pleinement payé<sup>24</sup> pour les 4 statères (dont la moitié font)  
 2 statères (qui font) [4 statères à nouveau]  
 pour l'argent de la capitation de l'an 43 à Jêmé.”  
 Ecrit en l'an 43 de César,  
 le quatrième mois ...

Dans notre documentation, ce type de reçu est assez bien représenté<sup>25</sup>. Le collecteur, ici un certain Harsiese fils de Pamonthes, déclare avoir perçu le montant de l'impôt de la part du contribuable. À quoi pouvait servir ce genre de document? Est-ce, ici encore, une sorte de substitut au reçu officiel? L'état de la documentation interdit de répondre.

En outre, aucun reçu de ce type — sauf celui-ci — ne mentionne le lieu où la taxe a été encaissée. Comme cette étude se limite à la banque de Jêmé, nous ne retiendrons que les documents découverts à Médinet Habou<sup>26</sup>.

<sup>24</sup> Nous sommes ici contraints de traduire le verbe *mh* comme un passif car, dans le cas contraire, ce serait le contribuable qui reconnaîtrait s'être lui-même acquitté du montant de l'impôt ce qui n'aurait aucun sens.

<sup>25</sup> Citons notamment: *ODL* 648; *ODL* 675; *ODL* 602; *ODL* 564; *ODL* 844; *O. Mattha* 66; *O. Mattha* 68; *O. Mattha* 159-167; *Cat. Brook. dem.* 91.

<sup>26</sup> Il faut ajouter à cette liste *O. Mattha* 167 qui est malheureusement trop lacunaire pour être daté.

OMH 63: paiement de la taxe pour le chef de la nécropole de l'an 43 d'Auguste.

OMH 64: paiement de la taxe pour le chef de la nécropole de l'an 43 d'Auguste.

OMH 60: paiement de la taxe des tisserands l'an [20] de Tibère à Paternouthis.

OMH 34: paiement de la capitation de l'an 1 de Claude à Habôs fils de Hor fils de Psenosiris.

OMH 45: paiement de la capitation et de la taxe sur les bains de l'an 2 de Claude (et taxe de l'an 1 sur les digues) à Pamonthes fils de Hor.

Cette liste recèle une surprise. La datation de ces documents déborde largement le règne d'Auguste: le plus récent remonte en effet à l'an 2 de Claude (56-57 ap. J.-C.). Or, comme nous le signalions plus haut, M. Lichtheim avait remarqué que nous ne disposons d'aucun reçu mentionnant les collecteurs après la mort d'Auguste en 14 ap. J.-C. On peut expliquer cette disparition de manière assez simple. Si l'on s'interroge sur l'intérêt qu'il y avait à faire figurer sur le reçu le nom du collecteur, on comprend que cette mention n'avait en fait pas lieu d'être. En effet, le contribuable connaissait son percepteur et le banquier disposait nécessairement de listes regroupant les contribuables en fonction des collecteurs auxquels ils étaient affectés<sup>27</sup>. La mention du nom du collecteur ne fut d'ailleurs pas systématiquement reportée sur les reçus d'époque augustéenne. C'est certainement à la faveur de la modification du formulaire à la mort d'Auguste<sup>28</sup> que l'on décida de bannir définitivement des reçus le nom des collecteurs.

<sup>27</sup> Il est possible que *Cat. Brook. dem.* 179 (G.R. HUGHES, *Catalog of Demotic Texts in the Brooklyn Museum* [n. 12], p. 71-72) soit une de ces listes des contribuables regroupés sous le nom de leur collecteur. En effet, on peut lire de la ligne 1 à la ligne 6 une série d'anthroponymes, à la ligne 8, se trouve la mention «les gens de Pamonthes» (*n3 rmt.w n Pa-Mnt*) suivie d'une nouvelle liste. De quel *Pa-Mnt* s'agit-il? Nous ne saurions le dire. Hughes a suggéré de rapprocher ce document de *O. Uppsala* N° Inv. 880 provenant de Thèbes et publié par S.V. WÄNGSTEDT, *Or. Suec.* 9 (1960), p. 73-74 (n° IX). Au recto de cette pièce, au terme d'une liste d'anthroponymes, l'auteur lit: (l. 21) «complétant les hommes de [... fils de] Imouthes (?)» (*r mh n3 rmt(.w) [... s3]* 'Iy-m-htp (?)). Wängstedt attribue ce document à l'époque ptolémaïque. Si l'hypothèse que nous formulons est correcte, il s'agirait plutôt d'une pièce d'époque romaine.

<sup>28</sup> Pour une chronologie fine de la diffusion de cet événement majeur: O. MONTEVECCHI, *Problemi di datazione: Tiberio*, *YCIS* 28 (1985), p. 267-272.

Un dernier problème doit être soulevé. Au début de ce travail nous avons noté que le dernier reçu démotique connu mentionnant la banque de Jémé remontait à l'an 5 de Caligula (40). Ces documents ont par la suite été remplacés par des pièces rédigées en grec<sup>29</sup>. Or, ici encore, la chronologie des reçus du type *OMH* 31 soulève une difficulté dans la mesure où le dernier de ces documents rédigé en démotique remonte au moins à 56-57. Ne perdons cependant pas de vue que, à la différence des autres quittances, les reçus de type *OMH* 31 ne mentionnent pas directement la banque de Jémé et ne semblent concerner que le collecteur et le contribuable. Dans ce contexte où, de surcroît, les contribuable et le percepteur portent tous deux un nom égyptien, le démotique trouvait encore sa place alors que, dans le cadre officiel de la banque, il avait été remplacé par le grec<sup>30</sup>. On peut donc supposer qu'il y eut, des années 40 jusqu'à la fin des années 50 et au-delà<sup>31</sup>, une période de transition entre l'adoption du grec comme écriture de l'administration fiscale et sa diffusion à l'ensemble des opérations concernant l'impôt.

Ainsi, l'examen de la riche documentation démotique laissée par la banque de Jémé nous permet d'établir une chronologie assez fine de la diffusion du grec dans l'administration fiscale romaine d'Égypte, montrant ainsi tout l'intérêt qu'il peut y avoir à étudier une documentation a priori austère mais qui, lorsque nous disposons d'un dossier assez complet, est une source très précieuse pour qui s'intéresse aux transformations culturelles en Haute Égypte au début de l'Empire.

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<sup>29</sup> R. BOGAERT, *La banque des Memnonia*, ZPE 86 (1991), p. 259-263.

<sup>30</sup> W. Clarysse et K. Vandorpe ont montré que la «grécisation» des reçus commence progressivement dès le début des années 30, K. VANDORPE et W. CLARYSSE, *Egyptian Bankers and Bank Receipts in Hellenistic and Early Roman Egypt*, dans K. VERBOVEN, K. VANDORPE & V. CHANKOWSKI (éds), *PISTOI DIA TÈN TECHNÈN. Bankers, Loans and Archives in the Ancient World. Studies in Honour of Raymond Bogaert (Studia Hellenistica, 44)*, Leuven 2007, p. 65-74.

<sup>31</sup> Dans la région thébaine, cette pratique a dû se poursuivre jusque tard dans le siècle. En effet, le Musée de Brooklyn conserve un reçu daté de l'an 7 de Domitien (*Cat. Brook. dem.* 91: paiement de la taxe sur les bains à *P3-šr-Ḥnsw s3 P3-dī-Ḥnsw*).

## DER BEGRIFF ΚΟΛΩΝ(Ε)ΙΑ IN DEN ÄGYPTISCHEN PAPYRI

*Abstract:* While it is a known fact that no Roman *coloniae*, i.e. self-governed cities of Roman law in which all citizens possessed Roman citizenship, were founded in Egypt, the term *colonia* transcribed into Greek appears in several papyri of the Roman period. This paper discusses the relevant sources and tries to determine the reality behind the term. The author comes to the conclusion that the Egyptian *coloniae* were veteran settlements. They do not seem to have been widespread. They possessed certain corporative rights, but no self-government. As such they are different from the known *coloniae* in other provinces.

Die römischen *coloniae* haben für die städtische Entwicklung in den Provinzen des Römischen Reichs eine bedeutende Rolle gespielt. Als mit römischem Recht ausgestattete Quasi-Gebietskörperschaften stellten sie einen Anziehungspol für die umwohnende peregrine Bevölkerung dar, dessen Existenz wesentlich zur Romanisierung besetzter Gebiete beitrug<sup>1</sup>.

### I. HINTERGRUND

Das lateinische Wort *colonia* besaß mehrere Bedeutungen. Zunächst bezeichnete der Begriff eine Militärkolonie, d.h. ein geschlossenes Gebiet, in dem Veteranen angesiedelt worden waren. Vor allem nach dem Ende des Bürgerkriegs Mitte des 1. Jh. v.Chr. wurde den ausgemusterten Soldaten in den eroberten Gebieten (z. B. Nordafrika) Land angewiesen. Eine solche Veteranen-*colonia* wurde 'deduziert', d. h. offiziell gegründet und mit römischem Recht ausgestattet, das demnach allen Bürgern (d. h. mit Bürgerrecht ausgestatteten Bewohnern) der *colonia* zustand. Anders als die von der Mutterstadt völlig losgelöste griechische *apoikia*, die ihre eigene Verfassung besaß, war die römische *colonia* Teil Roms, *de facto* eine Verlängerung des römischen Hoheitsgebietes und damit von diesem *de iure* abhängig<sup>2</sup>. Später wurden auch nicht-militärische

<sup>1</sup> Mein Dank gilt T. Derda (Warschau), der freundlicherweise das Manuskript las und mir einige wertvolle Hinweise gab, sowie H. Verreth (Löwen) für seine redaktionelle Hilfe.

<sup>2</sup> Ausgewählte Literatur: VITTINGHOFF (1994 = 1952), S. 25-56, hier 29-34 (Niederlassungskolonien); WATKINS (1979), S. 65-72; HUMBERT (1984), S. 380-383; CORBIER (1991), S. 217-220; GALSTERER (1997), S. 76-86; GOODMAN (2007), S. 9, 273-298 (Bibliographie); LAFFI (2007), S. 15-35 (mit rezenter Bibliographie).

*coloniae* gegründet bzw. peregrine Gemeinwesen in den Status einer *colonia* und damit in das römische Bürgerrecht überführt. Die *coloniae* waren also Niederlassungen mit vollem römischem Bürgerrecht und städtischer Selbstverwaltung nach römischem Modell<sup>3</sup>. Im Unterschied zu ihnen besaßen die *municipia* nur eine eingeschränkte Form des römischen Bürgerrechts, waren aber auch selbstverwaltete Gemeinwesen. Letzteres galt ebenfalls für die peregrinen *civitates*, die jedoch ihr einheimisches Rechtssystem beibehielten. In der Kaiserzeit verkörperten die *coloniae* die höchste Form der römischen Stadtverfassung<sup>4</sup>.

Das Modell der selbstverwalteten *colonia* fand in den römischen Provinzen, vor allem des Westens eine weite Verbreitung. So ist in der Provinz Africa Consularis, dem heutigen Tunesien, eine besondere Dichte der städtischen Niederlassungen, unter ihnen der *coloniae* anzutreffen. Selbst in den hellenisierten Provinzen des Ostens, die zwar im Wesentlichen das System der griechischen Poleis beibehielten, wurden, wenn auch seltener, *coloniae* gegründet<sup>5</sup>.

## II. DIE ΚΟΛΩΝ(Ε)ΙΑ IN DEN ÄGYPTISCHEN PAPYRI: DIE QUELLEN

Aus dem römischen Ägypten sind weder Niederlassungen mit dem Statut von *coloniae* noch *municipia* bekannt. Außer den seit der ptolemäischen Zeit drei, seit Hadrian vier Poleis (Alexandria, Ptolemais, Naukratis und Antinooupolis) waren alle Gemeinwesen, d. h. die Metropoleis und die Dörfer, dem Gaustrategen als dem Vertreter der Zentralverwaltung unterstellt. Sie besaßen bis zum Anfang des 3. Jh. *de iure* keine eigene Verfassung und Selbstverwaltung. In einer Reihe von Papyri finden wir allerdings den ins Griechische transkribierten Ausdruck *colonia*<sup>6</sup>. Da es auf Grund unseres heutigen Kenntnisstandes so gut wie ausgeschlossen ist, daß es sich um selbstverwaltete Niederlassungen nach Art der anderen Provinzen handelt, muß der Frage nachgegangen werden, welche Realität sich im ägyptischen Kontext hinter dem

<sup>3</sup> Cf. VITTINGHOFF (1994 = 1952), S. 34-40; ALSTON (1995), S. 48: «self-regulating city states».

<sup>4</sup> VITTINGHOFF (1994 = 1952), S. 43-50: Titularkolonien.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. BRÉLAZ (2004), S. 187-209, DRABOWA (2004), S. 211-231, Bibliographie S. 227-231; RITZAKIS (2004), S. 69-94, Bibliographie S. 90-94; SARTRE (2004), S. 309-319, Bibliographie S. 207-209; DIETZE (2007), S. 35-36 + Anm. 7-11.

<sup>6</sup> Die ägyptische *colonia* findet bei MASON (1974), S. 62 keine Beachtung.



Begriff verbirgt. Sehen wir uns die relevanten Quellen in chronologischer Reihenfolge an<sup>7</sup>.

1. Der früheste uns bekannte Beleg für eine ägyptische *colonia* stammt wahrscheinlich aus der Zeit Trajans (*SB* VI 9448.5, aus 103-117<sup>8</sup>, Herkunft unbekannt<sup>9</sup>). Es geht um das Fragment eines bei dem Namen des Kaisers Trajan geschworenen Eides, wobei ein Tempel<sup>10</sup> der *colonia* eine Rolle spielt, wahrscheinlich der Ort, an dem der Eid geleistet werden sollte (Z. 3: ...στι κόμη βωμῶ[ν] τῆς κολωνεία[ς]).

2. Der nächste Beleg stammt aus dem Jahr 118 (*P. Giss.* I, 3, 60, Sp. 3, Z. 6, Heptakomia<sup>11</sup>). Die Urkunde enthält den Bericht des Komogrammateus des Dorfes Naboo<sup>12</sup> aus dem 3. Herrschaftsjahr Hadrians über den Stand des nach Bodenkategorien geordneten Saatlandes (ἐσπαρμέναι) im Katasterbezirk des Dorfes. Eine der Kategorien ist das Kleruchenland (*P. Giss.* I, 3, 60, Sp. 3, Z. 1-14), in ptolemäischer Zeit Veteranen angewiesener Boden (κληρουχική γῆ), mit den einzelnen κλῆροι<sup>13</sup>. In dieser Bodenkategorie (insgesamt 2960 Aruren) wird in Z. 6 eine κολωνία erwähnt<sup>14</sup>, möglicherweise im Unterschied zu den κλῆροι ein zusammenhängendes Gebiet im Dorf Naboo<sup>15</sup>. Leider sind die Angaben in Aruren verloren gegangen. Aber die Summe der von der *colonia* zu zahlenden Artaben ist erhalten (Z. 7: 18), aus der sich hier eine Oberfläche von maximal «wenigen Hundert Aruren» hochrechnen läßt<sup>16</sup>.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. ALSTON (1995), S. 48-49.

<sup>8</sup> Datierung s. REITER (1995), S. 100.

<sup>9</sup> TRAVERSA (1953), S. 78-79, Nr. 34 («il testo presenta alcun interesse»); HOMBERT (1954), S. 331 («début d'un document mutilé se terminant par un serment»); TAUBENSCHLAG (1955/1956), 570 («a fragment of an act confirmed by oath»).

<sup>10</sup> Zum Begriff βωμός als Tempel s. *BGU* III 916, Z. 14-15 (aus 69/79, Fayum); *Stud. Pal.* XXII 183, Sp. 2, Z. 29-31 (aus 138?, Soknopaiou Nesos); *Stud. Pal.* XXII 183, Sp. 6, Z. 132-133 (aus 138?, Soknopaiou Nesos); *SB* XVI 12797, Z. 6 (aus 223, Soknopaiou Nesos, Steuerquittung für φόρος βωμῶν).

<sup>11</sup> Die Heptakomia-Papyri wurden von einem Händler in Ashmunein erworben und erhielten ihren Namen nach der Metropole des Gaus, Apollonopolites Parvus in der Thebais. Sie stammen aus der Zeit Trajans und Hadrians und enthalten vor allem die Korrespondenz des Gaustrategen Apollonios, s. *P. Giss.* I, 3, S. VII.

<sup>12</sup> Auch aus Naboo *WChr.* 341, Zeit Hadrians, s. ROWLANDSON (1996), S. 33; zu *P. Giss.* I, 3, 60 s. ROWLANDSON (1996), S. 34, 51-52.

<sup>13</sup> ROWLANDSON (1996), S. 43-48; zur κληρουχική γῆ oder auch κατοικική γῆ cf. JÖRDENS (2009), S. 107-108.

<sup>14</sup> Aufgeführt nach βασιλική γῆ und vor der Kategorie ἱερατικά.

<sup>15</sup> *P. Giss.* I, 3, 60, S. 29.

<sup>16</sup> *P. Giss.* I 3, 60, 3, 60, S. 29; cf. ROWLANDSON (1996), S. 34

3. Der folgende Beleg stammt aus dem Fayum (*BGU* II 587, aus 141<sup>17</sup>). In dem mit zahlreichen Fehlern von ungeübter Hand geschriebenen Fragment scheint es um die Zuteilung von konfisziertem Besitz an eine *colonia* zu gehen (Z. 7, BL 2.2, 19: ταῦτα κολωνεῖαι διέδωκε). Der zuständige Verwaltungsbeamte ist auch hier der Komogrammateus. Plaumann schlußfolgert an Hand dieses Textes<sup>18</sup>, eine ägyptische *colonia* könne (s. u.) die Summe von Veteranenländereien bezeichnen, die jedoch nicht zwingend ein zusammenhängendes Gebiet darstellten, sondern verstreut liegen könnten<sup>19</sup>. Hierzu bietet möglicherweise der *pagus* im nordafrikanischen Thugga eine Parallele. Auch dort stellte sich die Frage, ob die zum *pagus* gehörigen Grundstücke ein zusammenhängendes Gebiet bildeten oder verstreut lagen, d. h. ob die römischen *pagani* als Gruppe getrennt von oder mit den Einheimischen vermischt lebten. Thugga gehörte in vorrömischer Zeit zur karthagischen *pertica*, d. h. dem Versorgungsgebiet Karthagos. Mit größter Wahrscheinlichkeit war das Land in der Umgebung von Thugga daher nicht herrenlos, sondern in öffentlichem oder privatem Besitz. Die den römischen Siedlern zugeteilten Grundstücke mußten also z. B. konfisziert werden, was bedeutet, daß sie nicht unbedingt zusammenhingen. Ähnlich mag es sich mit der ägyptischen κολωνεῖα verhalten haben. Auch im vorliegenden Text wird der κολωνεῖα konfiszierter (Grund-)Besitz zugeteilt. Trotz dieser Parallele gibt es im Hinblick auf Verwaltungsautonomie und Rechtsstand grundlegende Unterschiede zwischen dem nordafrikanischen *pagus* (einer Art Vereinigung der in der peregrinen *civitas Thuggensis* ansässigen römischen Bürger mit stadtähnlicher Selbstverwaltung<sup>20</sup>) und der ägyptischen *colonia*.

4. Daß eine ägyptische *colonia* allerdings gewisse Korporationsrechte besaß, eine Hypothese, die Plaumann mit Bestimmtheit ausschloß, geht aus dem folgenden Fragment eines Gerichtsprotokolls hervor, in dem der ägyptische Präfekt L. Volusius Maecianus<sup>21</sup> erwähnt wird (*P. Oxy.* III

<sup>17</sup> Datierung s. BL I 54.

<sup>18</sup> PLAUMANN (1919), S. 15-16.

<sup>19</sup> So auch U. WILCKEN, *Referat Papyrusurkunden* VIII, in *APF* 5 (1913), S. 434: «Sehr zweifelhaft ist, ob daraus folgt, daß diese Veteranengüter einen zusammenhängenden Komplex bildeten. Bis jetzt ist wohl angenommen worden, daß in Ägypten, ebenso wie die *kleroi* der Ptolemäerzeit, so auch die Veteranengüter der Kaiserzeit mitten zwischen den anderen Äckern verstreut gelegen haben».

<sup>20</sup> Cf. DIETZE (2007), S. 33-35.

<sup>21</sup> S. Liste der Präfekten bei BASTINIANI (1975), S. 295; JÖRDENS (2009), S. 529.

653<sup>22</sup> = *MChr.* 90, aus 162/163<sup>23</sup>, Herkunft möglicherweise Alexandria)<sup>24</sup>. Daß zumindest eine der Prozeßparteien ein römischer Bürger gewesen sein muß, zeigt die Tatsache, daß der Prozeß vor ihm als dem für die *cives Romani* zuständigen Beamten geführt wurde. Sempronius Orestinus, Sohn des Sempronius Tarantinus hatte dem [---]us Iulius Voltimus aus Paraitonion ein Darlehen gewährt, für welches dieser seine sämtlichen Grundstücke als Hypothek angeboten hatte. Orestinus verlangt jetzt die Zwangsvollstreckung der Hypotheken, scheint aber nicht der einzige Gläubiger zu sein: nach seinem Namen tritt im Text auch eine κολωνεία auf, die ihm gegenüber ebenfalls Ansprüche geltend macht (Z. 9-10: τῆς κο[λω]νείας, im Genitiv ebenso wie zuvor Sempronius Orestinus; Z. 18: [καὶ τῇι] κολωνεῖαι ὀφεί[λε]σθαι). Offensichtlich besitzt diese einen Status, den man mit dem einer heutigen Rechtspersönlichkeit vergleichen könnte.

5. Der folgende Beleg (*P. Oxy.* XII 1508, wahrscheinlich 2. Jh.<sup>25</sup>) zeigt, daß in einer *colonia* Veteranen wohnten. Er enthält die den Flottenveteranen M. Iulius Valerianus<sup>26</sup> betreffende Schlußpassage eines Textes. Dieser hatte *hypologos*<sup>27</sup> in einer κολωνεία in der Nähe des Dorfes Senepta (cf. *P. Oxy.* X 1285, Sp. 1, Z. 27, 3. Jh.) aus dem κλῆρος des Dorkon und des Alexander, ehemals Menon, gekauft. Es geht um steuerermäßigten, unfruchtbaren, da nicht ausreichend überschwemmten Boden<sup>28</sup>. *Hypologos* wurde zu festen Preisen verkauft mit dem Ziel, Privatleute zur Investition von Eigenkapital in die Rückgewinnung von Kulturland zu stimulieren. Für Boden dieser Art wurde eine dreijährige Steuerfreiheit gewährt. Außerdem ging er in das volle Eigentum des

<sup>22</sup> Bei PLAUMANN (1919) irrtümlich *P. Oxy.* III 563.

<sup>23</sup> Datierung seiner Amtszeit s. BASTINIANI (1975), S. 295.

<sup>24</sup> WILCKEN (1913), S. 434, Anm. 1; ROWLANDSON (1996), S. 52, Anm. 73.

<sup>25</sup> Der Papyrus ist einer der Texte, die im Anhang zu Band XII nur auszugsweise und mit einer kurzen Inhaltsangabe aufgeführt werden; cf. ROWLANDSON (1996), S. 51.

<sup>26</sup> Zum Fayum als Herkunft zahlreicher Flottensoldaten und Niederlassung von Flottenveteranen s. FITZHARDINGE (1951), S. 19; ALSTON (1995), S. 50-51; DIETZE (2007), S. 95-96; 117-119.

<sup>27</sup> *Hypologos* = Ackerboden, dessen Steuer ganz oder teilweise fortfällt wegen gänzlicher oder teilweiser Unergiebigkeit (cf. *P. Tebt.* 66.6: ἀπὸ ὑπολόγου ἀναγομένης γῆς), s. PREISIGKE (1927), Stichwort ὑπολόγος; ebenso *WChr.* 375, aus 246, Hermopolites (Z. 8); cf. *P. Oxy.* XII, S. 257; PLAUMANN (1919), S. 15; cf. ROWLANDSON (1996), S. 48: «Land sold at fixed price consisted of uncultivable land, often described as *hypologos*. This designation signified that it had been set aside from other categories of arable land as almost or completely unproductive of revenue»; 71.

<sup>28</sup> ROWLANDSON (1996), S. 71.

Käufers über<sup>29</sup>. Wie in den vorhergehenden Texten liegt die *κολωνεία* in der Nähe eines ägyptischen Dorfs, einer von der Metropole aus durch den Strategen verwalteten unselbständigen Niederlassung.

6. Die nächste Quelle bestätigt, daß eine ägyptische Kolonie eine Veteranensiedlung war. Er zeigt außerdem, daß diese noch unter Septimius Severus und Caracalla<sup>30</sup> gegründet wurden (*P. Hauss.*<sup>31</sup>, aus 201/202 = *WChr.* 461<sup>32</sup>, Anfang 3. Jh., Fayum<sup>33</sup>). Es handelt sich um die Petition des ehrenhaft entlassenen Veteranen Iulius Valerius an den Präfekten Q. Maecus Laetus. Der Petent besaß auf Grund einer *εὐεργεσία* der Kaiser (Z. 15)<sup>34</sup> in einer Kolonie in der Nähe des Dorfes Kerkesucha in der Meris Herakleides des arsinoitischen Gaus ein Stück *hypologos*, das er unter großen Mühen durch Bewässerung fruchtbar gemacht hatte. Sein Gegenspieler war der in derselben Kolonie angesiedelte Veteran Marcus Aurelius Nepheros, der die Rechte des Iulius Valerius in irgendeiner Weise zu schmälern suchte und mit Gewalt in die Kolonie eingedrungen war (Z. 27: εἰς τὴν κολωνίαν ἐπελθὼν βίαι πολλῇ). Aus dieser Formulierung schloß Plaumann<sup>35</sup>, eine *colonia* könne im ägyptischen Kontext auch ein einzelnes Veteranengrundstück sein. Auf Grund dessen sprach er der *colonia* jedwede Art korporativer Rechte, z.B. die einer Vereinigung ab. Daß sie diese jedoch sehr wohl besaß, haben wir weiter oben nachgewiesen. Auf Grund der gesamten Quellenlage ist anzunehmen, daß es sich in dem vorliegenden Text um ein geschlossenes, vielleicht sogar gesichertes Gebiet handelt, in das M. Aurelius Nepheros eingedrungen war.

7. Um die Bewohner einer Veteranenkolonie könnte es sich bei dem Fragment einer Steuerliste mit den Namen von Grundbesitzern handeln (*P. Gen.* 97 = *SB* 7620, 2. Hälfte 1. Jh., Herkunft unbekannt), bei der es um Grundstücke mittlerer Größe (nicht mehr als 12 Aruren) geht. Da alle erhaltenen Namen mit dem Buchstaben M beginnen, muß das Fragment Teil einer alphabetischen Liste sein. Bis auf zwei Ausnahmen handelt es

<sup>29</sup> ROWLANDSON (1996), S. 49; DERDA (2009), im Erscheinen.

<sup>30</sup> Datierung s. Z. 15-16 + BASTINIANI (1975), S. 304.

<sup>31</sup> = P. Parisianus = B. HAUSSOULIER, *Florilegium Melchior de Vogüe* (1910), S. 283; cf. *WChr.* 461.

<sup>32</sup> Cf. KORNEMANN (1911), S. 390-392; WILCKEN (1963=1912), S. 403.

<sup>33</sup> Cf. WILCKEN (1913), S. 433-434.

<sup>34</sup> Man vergleiche die hier erwähnte *εὐεργεσία* mit den *donativa* in der Petition eines ägyptischen Veteranen (*P. Lond.* 384 = *DARIS* 106, aus 179, Herakleopolis, Z. 11), cf. DIETZE (2007), S. 89-90.

<sup>35</sup> PLAUMANN (1919), S. 16.

sich um römische *tria nomina*. Auch die meisten Cognomina sind römisch und nicht griechisch. Vermutlich geht es um Veteranen<sup>36</sup>.

### III. SCHLUSSFOLGERUNGEN

Versuchen wir, aus diesen Quellen Erkenntnisse zu der Frage zu gewinnen, was eine κολων(ε)ία im römischen Ägypten darstellte.

1. Den Quellen nach zu urteilen müssen wir annehmen, daß eine κολων(ε)ία eine Veteranenniederlassung war. Zumindest in die Zeit zwischen Trajan/Hadrian und Septimius Severus/Caracalla wurden solche Kolonien zur Ansiedlung von Veteranen gegründet sowohl im Fayum wie auch in der Thebais, z. B. im Apollonopolites Parvus. Wir wissen übrigens, daß sich Veteranen, vor allem der Flotten, mit Vorliebe im Fayum niederließen bzw. aus dem Fayum stammten (s. o.).

2. Die Kolonien wurden offensichtlich von anderen (auch Soldaten- bzw. Veteranen)-Grundstücken unterschieden. In einer Quelle wurde eine *colonia* als gesonderte Bodenkategorie der κληρουχικὴ γῆ geführt.

3. Die einzelnen Grundstücke innerhalb einer *colonia* scheinen relativ klein gewesen zu sein: in einem Fall konnte die Gesamtfläche nicht mehr als einige Hundert Aruren umfassen. In mehreren Fällen handelt es sich außerdem um unbewässerten *hypologos*, der erst fruchtbar gemacht werden mußte und zu festen Preisen verkauft wurde sowie steuerbegünstigt war.

4. Als Veteranen waren die Siedler einer *colonia* zwar römische Bürger, aber nicht steuerfrei.

5. Eine *colonia* stellte nicht unbedingt ein zusammenhängendes Gebiet dar, sondern konnte aus verstreut liegenden Grundstücken bestehen.

6. Die Kolonien befanden sich in ägyptischen Dörfern, Gemeinwesen ohne Autonomie, die von der Nomoshauptstadt aus durch den Strategen verwaltet wurden. Sie unterlagen derselben Steuergesetzgebung wie die Dörfer. Allerdings konnte eine *colonia* als eine Art Vereinigung Rechte gegenüber Dritten geltend machen.

<sup>36</sup> Zusätzlich zu den griechischen Quellen liegen uns zwei Fragmente lateinischer Dokumente vor, in denen die Begriffe *colonia* und *deducta* auftauchen, wobei allerdings der Zusammenhang nicht mehr zu erkennen ist. *P. Mich.* VII 445 (Ende 2. Jh.) ist das Fragment eines die ägyptische Legion X Fretensis betreffenden Dokuments. In Zeile 2 sind die Worte *aput* (sic) *colon[iam]* erhalten, denen ursprünglich ein Name folgte. In *P. Mich.* VII 456 (Ende 1., Anfang 2. Jh.) ist in Zeile 1 das Wort *deducta* zu lesen, welches möglicherweise dem Begriff *colonia* zugeordnet war.

7. Einer *colonia* konnte aus konfiszierten Grundstücken Grundbesitz zugewiesen werden. Andere Grundstücke wurden offensichtlich von den Veteranen selbst gekauft.

Fassen wir zusammen. Zwar lassen die ägyptischen Kolonien eine gewisse Parallele zu den nordafrikanischen *pagi* bzw. den *conventus civium Romanorum*, den römischen Bürgervereinigungen auf peregrinem Gebiet erkennen, unterlagen jedoch, anders als diese, nicht römischem, sondern einheimischem Recht. Auch kam ihnen — anders als z. B. dem thuggensischen *pagus*, der de facto als öffentliches Organ auftrat — kein quasi-gebietskörperschaftlicher Charakter zu. Nichts deutet auf eine Selbstverwaltung der ägyptischen Kolonien. Alston zufolge bezieht sich der Begriff in den ägyptischen Papyri auf ein kleines Gebiet mit Marginalland, das Veteranen (wie wir sahen, nicht immer) kostenlos zur Verfügung gestellt wurde; keineswegs gehe es aber um eine selbstverwaltete, städtische Niederlassung<sup>37</sup>. Dabei übersieht Alston m. E., daß die *colonia* offensichtlich bestimmte korporative Rechte besaß. Das bedeutet, daß der Begriff nicht nur einen «geographical reference point»<sup>38</sup>, wie Alston behauptet, sondern auch einen juristischen Bezugspunkt darstellte. Das Gebiet einer *colonia* bezeichnet Alston als konzentriert; er geht also davon aus, daß es zusammenhängend war. Wenn aber eine *colonia* nicht nur ein geographischer, sondern auch ein juristischer Begriff war, dann muß dies bedeuten, daß die *colonia* nicht zwingend ein geographisch zusammenhängendes Gebiet war, sondern auch aus juristisch zusammenhängenden, geographisch aber getrennten Gebieteile bestehen konnte.

Eine ägyptische *colonia* kann mithin weder mit einer deduzierten Veteranenkolonie römischen Rechts noch mit einer kaiserzeitlichen Titularkolonie römischen Rechts gleichgesetzt werden. Auf Grund der Dürftigkeit der Quellen müssen wir davon ausgehen, daß die ägyptischen Veteranenkolonien nicht weit verbreitet waren und sicherlich nicht die einzige Form der Veteranenansiedlung darstellten. Auch was die Ansiedlung von Veteranen angeht, begegnen wir im römischen Ägypten also einer Sonderform der gängigen Regelung anderer Provinzen. Es stellt sich die Frage nach dem Grund für die Seltenheit von ägyptischen Kolonien. Eine mögliche Erklärung könnte sein, daß die meisten ägyptischen

<sup>37</sup> ALSTON (1995), S. 49.

<sup>38</sup> ALSTON (1995), S. 49.

Veteranen die Rückkehr in ihre angestammte Heimat der Ansiedlung in einer *colonia* vorzogen, ebenso wie Veteranen, die aus anderen Provinzen stammten und Ägypten nach ihrer Dienstzeit wieder verließen. Möglicherweise siedelten in einer *colonia* nur nichtägyptische Veteranen, die in Ägypten verblieben bzw. ägyptische Veteranen, die vor ihrer Einziehung kein Land besessen hatten und bei ihrer Entlassung ein Grundstück erhielten.

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## LIVIA BEFORE OCTAVIAN\*

*Abstract:* Continued interest in the role of women in antiquity and in the dynastic arrangements of the Julio-Claudian dynasty has focused considerable attention on the prominent figure of Livia Drusilla, wife of Augustus and mother of Tiberius. As a result, the importance of Livia in the ancient sources has also provided fertile ground for modern authors. Yet while Livia is a well-documented figure in her own right during the reigns of Augustus and Tiberius, most of what is known about the first twenty years of her life stems from her relationship with the two men who dominated her early and teenage years: her father, M. Livius Drusus Claudianus, and her first husband, Ti. Claudius Nero. From these men Livia derived social status and aristocratic connections that made marriage to her particularly attractive to Octavian. These connections, resulting from strategic adoptions and marriages, created family alliances that Livia maintained and which help explain the rise of certain families early in the principate of Augustus.

However, following the lead of Tacitus and Suetonius, most modern studies usually treat Livia's history *before* her marriage to Octavian perfunctorily. The possible implications of the future Augustus' marrying into such an old Republican family seem to have included his gaining control of her property and resources and the obtaining of support from the old Republican nobility. While the latter is certainly true, it is not likely that the nobility came over *en bloc*. More likely the marriage represented an alliance with a particular faction or alliance of families within the established aristocracy.

Carefully reexamining the evidence for Livia's connections helps reconstruct this faction, better explaining the importance of Octavian's marriage alliance with her family. Consideration of these relationships in light of issues of ancestry, adoption, inheritance, and civil war political alliances cast them in a different light, a light which more satisfactorily explains her first marriage, her flight with Nero after the Perusine War, her return to Italy after the pact of Misenum, and the advancement of certain families *after* Livia's husband at last became Augustus.

\* Full references to the literature cited are given in the Bibliography. All dates are BC unless otherwise indicated.

Continued interest in the role of women in antiquity and in the dynastic arrangements of the Julio-Claudian dynasty has focused considerable attention on the prominent figure of Livia Drusilla, wife of Augustus and mother of Tiberius. Velleius Paterculus noted that at the end of her life Livia was *eminentissima et per omnia deis quam hominibus similior femina, cuius potentiam nemo sensit nisi aut levatione periculi aut accessione dignitatis*<sup>1</sup>. Tacitus, when not disparaging her character, noted that she was a suitable counterpart for both Augustus and Tiberius, and Dio observed that she obtained a status beyond that held by any Roman woman before her<sup>2</sup>. As a result, the importance of Livia in the ancient sources has also provided fertile ground for modern authors<sup>3</sup>. Yet while Livia is a well-documented figure in her own right during the reigns of Augustus and Tiberius, most of what is known about the first twenty years of her life stems from her relationship with the two men who dominated her early and teenage years: her father, M. Livius Drusus

<sup>1</sup> Vell. II 130.5.

<sup>2</sup> Tac., *Ann.* V 1; Dio LVII 12.2.

<sup>3</sup> After the sensational treatment of Livia and other imperial women in the eighteenth-century work of JACQUES ROERGAS DE SERVIEZ, *Les impératrices romaines* (1758), the first scholarly treatment of Livia was by J.R. ASCHBACH, *Livia, Gemahlinn des Kaisers Augustus* (1864). His biography of Livia was followed by H. WILLRICH, *Livia* (1911) and the entry in *RE* by L. OLLENDORF, *Livius (Livia)*, no. 37 (1926). After these early German attempts to treat Livia comprehensively, she has since appeared as one of the principal figures in general works on Roman women such as G. FERRERO, *The Women of the Caesars* (1925); R.B. HOFFSTEN, *Roman Women of Rank of the Early Empire* (1939); J.P.V.D. BALSDON, *Roman Women* (1962); S. FISCHLER, *The Public Position of the Women of the Imperial Household in the Julio-Claudian Period* (1989); R.A. BAUMAN, *Women and Politics in Ancient Rome* (1992).

Of greater value to the study of Livia have been individual articles and monographs treating specific issues — such as G. GREYER, *Livia and the Imperial Cult* (1946), now supplemented by such works as D. FISHWICK, *The Imperial Cult in the Latin West* (1987), *passim*; S. FISCHLER, *Public Position* (1989), p. 98–192; C.G. CALHOON, *Livia the Poisoner* (1994), p. 100–108 and 177–196; S. TREGGIARI, *Jobs in the Household of Livia* (1975); N. PURCELL, *Livia and the Womanhood of Rome* (1986); M.B. FLORY, *Sic exempla parantur* (1984), *Octavian and the Omen of the Gallina Alba* (1988–89), *Livia and the History of Public Honorific Statues for Women in Rome* (1993), and *Dynastic Ideology, the Domus Augusta, and Imperial Women* (1996); C.-M. PERKOUNIG, *Livia Drusilla–Julia Augusta* (1995). Detailed treatments of Livia's iconography and her use in imperial propaganda include W.H. GROSS, *Julia Augusta* (1962); C.B. ROSE, *Dynastic Commemoration and Imperial Portraiture* (1997); E. BARTMAN, *Portraits of Livia* (1999).

A full-length biography of Livia in English finally appeared in 2002 with the publication of A.A. BARRETT's *Livia*, and a substantial treatment of her life now appears in a chapter of J. BURNS, *Great Women of Imperial Rome* (2007), p. 5–24.

Claudianus, and her first husband, Ti. Claudius Nero<sup>4</sup>. From these men Livia derived social status and aristocratic connections that made marriage to her particularly attractive to Octavian. These connections, resulting from strategic adoptions and marriages, created family alliances that Livia maintained and which help explain the rise of certain families early in the principate of Augustus.

However, following the lead of Tactius and Suetonius, most modern studies usually treat Livia's history *before* her marriage to Octavian perfunctorily and in the conventional manner of reviewing some of her Livian and Claudian forebears, quickly noting her first marriage to Ti. Claudius Nero, and then making some proposals regarding the reasons for and timing of her subsequent marriage to Octavian. Exceptions to this include Bartman's rather more careful review of her background, Flory's careful analysis of the historiographical tradition of Livia's marriage to Octavian, and Sirago's study of the possible implications of this marriage<sup>5</sup>. Sirago in particular tried to suggest the significance of the future Augustus' marrying into an old Republican family; in addition to gaining control of her property and resources, he proposes that she was responsible for the change in Octavian's behavior in the triumphal period and brought with her the support of the old Republican nobility<sup>6</sup>. While the latter is certainly true, it is not likely that the nobility came over *en bloc*. More likely the marriage represented an alliance with a particular faction or alliance of families within the established aristocracy.

Carefully reexamining the evidence for Livia's connections helps reconstruct this faction, better explaining the importance of Octavian's marriage alliance with her family. Consideration of these relationships in light of issues of ancestry, adoption, inheritance, and civil war political alliances cast them in a different light, a light which more satisfactorily explains her first marriage, her flight with Nero after the Perusine War, her return to Italy after the pact of Misenum, and the advancement of certain families *after* Livia's husband at last became Augustus.

<sup>4</sup> For Drusus Claudianus, see MÜNZER, *Claudius*, no. 290, col. 2846 = *Livius* (Drusus), no. 19, col. 881-884; DRUMANN, *Claudius* no. 30, II, p. 158; *PIR*<sup>2</sup> L 294. For Nero, see MÜNZER, *Claudius*, no. 254, col. 2777-2778.

<sup>5</sup> BARTMAN, p. 57-58; FLORY, *Abducta Neroni uxor* (1988); SIRAGO, *Livia Drusilla* (1979).

<sup>6</sup> SIRAGO, p. 179-181. See also BARRETT, p. 22.

## SCION OF THE CLAUDII AND LIVII

Livia's importance in the dynastic politics of the late Republic stemmed largely from her paternal connections to some of Rome's most illustrious *gentes*. Her ancestry can be determined from the nomenclature of her father Drusus Claudianus and from statements regarding her son Tiberius. Suetonius' account of Tiberius' ancestry provides the crucial information regarding the family background of Drusus Claudianus:

Ex hac stirpe Tiberius Caesar genus trahit, et quidem utrumque: paternum a Tiberio Nerone, maternum ab Appio Pulchro, qui ambo Appi Caeci filii fuerunt. Insertus est et Liviorum familiae adoptato in eam materno avo<sup>7</sup>.

Tacitus roughly parallels this account, although significantly his account states only that Tiberius was descended from Claudians on both sides without explicitly identifying the *stirpes Neronēs* and *Pulchri*<sup>8</sup>. Drusus Claudianus' nomenclature is inconsistent in the literary sources, but epigraphic evidence establishes the complete name as M. Livius Drusus Claudianus<sup>9</sup>. The combination of the nomen and agnomen thus supports the evidence from Suetonius that he was a Claudian adopted by a Livius Drusus.

The adoptive father of Drusus Claudianus is widely agreed to have been M. Livius Drusus, the *tribunus plebis* of 91, and many modern scholars, following Suetonius, suggest that Drusus Claudianus' natural father was a Claudius Pulcher. Although these suggestions have long represented the consensus of majority opinion, the actual identities of Drusus Claudianus' natural and adoptive fathers are still uncertain, allowing for other possibilities that more satisfactorily explain Livia's first marriage<sup>10</sup>. While Suetonius provides important background information

<sup>7</sup> Suet., *Tib.* 3.1.

<sup>8</sup> Tac., *Ann.* VI 51: *Pater ei Nero et utrimque origo gentis Claudiae, quamquam mater in Liviam et mox Iuliam familiam adoptionibus transierit.*

<sup>9</sup> *CIL* IX 3660; *AE* 1950, 241; *IGRR* IV 983; none of these provide his filiation. Other forms include *Drusus Claudianus*: Vell. II 75.3, 94.1; *Livius Drusus*: Vell. II 71.2; Dio XLVIII 4.1; and *Drusus*: Cic., *Att.* II 7.3, IV 15.9, IV 16.5, IV 17.5, 12 *passim*, *Fam.* VIII 14.4, XI 19.1, *QFr.* II 16.3; Tac., *Dial.* 21.2. Several inscriptions feature Livia with the filiation *Drusi f.*, suggesting that the cognomen alone, as in Cicero's usage, was more common for Drusus Claudianus (e.g. *CIL* II 2038, V 6416.6, IX 3304, IX 4514, X 459, and X 799).

<sup>10</sup> Representative examples from the nineteenth century through recent scholarship include ASCHBACH, p. 3; BORGHESI, p. 314-317; GARDTHAUSEN, p. 631-632 n. 5; MÜNZER, *Roman Aristocratic Parties*, p. 274-275; SYME, *Roman Revolution*, p. 229; LEVICK, p. 228 n. 2; CALHOON, p. 9; PERKOUNIG, p. 9, 33, and 43; BARRETT, p. 4-8.

for both the Claudii and the Livii which adds to lustre of Livia's ancestral lines, his information is at times confused, allowing for the possibility that other reconstructions might better reflect Roman concerns for the transmission of property, perhaps explaining Livia's first marriage as well as why both she and her first husband were also so willing to end it to make an alliance with the rising Augustus.

If Livy's statement regarding the immigration of the Sabine Attus Clausus with all his dependents in 503 can be trusted<sup>11</sup>, Drusus Claudianus' birth family, the *gens Claudia*, antedated his adoptive family, the Livii, in Rome by about 165 years<sup>12</sup>. From that time the Claudii had a rich history in politics with a number of Claudii appearing in the Fasti, but the legends about the Claudii are particularly problematic since a hostile annalistic tradition has informed the major literary accounts<sup>13</sup>. Suetonius' statement at *Tib.* 3.1 suggests that the appropriate place to begin tracing Drusus Claudianus' Claudian ancestry is with the censor Ap. Claudius C.f. Ap.n. Caecus (*RE* 91)<sup>14</sup>. Suetonius mentions Caecus'

MÜNZER, *RE* XIII, col. 881-882, accepts the identification of Drusus the tribune of 91 as the adoptive father yet expresses some doubts regarding the natural father. DRUMANN, II, p. 158, cautioned that Suetonius' remark, upon which foundation all assumptions regarding Drusus Claudianus are based, «giebt [*sic*] aber über seinen leiblichen und Adoptivvater keinen Aufschluß, welchen man auch sonst vergebens sucht».

<sup>11</sup> Liv. II 17.

<sup>12</sup> Liv. II 16 and Suet., *Tib.* 1; see also Dion. Hal. V 40.

<sup>13</sup> MOMMSEN, *Römische Forschungen*, I, p. 285-315, recognized the arbitrary employment of a Claudius in literature whenever a patrician stereotype was needed and pointed out that the type was hardly consistent with the political behavior of several well-known Claudii. WISEMAN, *Clio's Cosmetics*, in a chapter entitled "Claudian Arrogance and Claudian Wisdom" and in the two chapters that follow, p. 77-139, discerns both a hostile and a positive tradition regarding the Claudii (the champions of which he sees as Valerius Antias and Q. Aelius Tubero respectively) while acknowledging that the former is more prominent.

<sup>14</sup> Many references in the surviving literature give depth to his impressive *cursus*: a censorship in 312, consulships in 307 and 296, a praetorship before 297 and then again in 295, two curule aedileships, and a dictatorship sometime between 292 and 285. His *elogium* (*CIL* I<sup>2</sup> p. 192 = Degraffi, *Inscr. Ital.* XIII 3 no. 79, p. 59-60) provides more detail than that known from the literary sources: *censor, co(n)s(ul) his, dict(ator), interrex III, pr(aetor) II, aed(ilis) cur(ulis) II, q(uaestor), tr(ibunus) mil(itum) III*. His famous censorship was remembered not only for his public works, the Via Appia and an aqueduct, but also for activist policies that included a controversial *lectio senatus* and the assignment of 'low-born' individuals throughout the rural tribes. These acts can be taken together and seen as a calculated effort to increase his influence. They helped build a broad clientele and continued a profitable strategy that focused on Campania and the South, an effort that would eventually crescendo into developing Claudian interests in Sicily and the Greek East (STAVELEY, p. 423-429).

intervention during a senatorial debate of Pyrrhus' peace proposals in order to employ him as an example of a 'good' Claudius, but the biographer's real concern is Caecus' role as the ancestor of all the patrician branches of the *gens Claudia*, two of which, the Pulchri and the Neroni, he saw as the antecedents to the emperor Tiberius<sup>15</sup>.

Nonetheless, Suetonius' information regarding Caecus and his family is at times confused. Suetonius refers to a Claudius Drusus who, according to the anti-Claudian annalistic tradition, tried to become a tyrant with the help of his clients<sup>16</sup>. If Suetonius is referring to the consul of 268, he has made a mistake with the cognomen, and the complete name should be Ap. Claudius Ap.f. C.n. Russus (*RE* 317)<sup>17</sup>. Another mistake that cannot be as easily explained as an orthographic error is Suetonius' identification of the first Pulcher as being an Appius Claudius; the *Fasti* maintain that his full name was P. Claudius Ap.f. C.n. Pulcher (*RE* 304, cos. 249). Other ancient sources mistake the praenomen Appius for Publius, and such errors illustrate how ancient authors, or more probably their sources, do not seem to have consistently understood the actual relationships of prominent figures who lived two, three, or four centuries before them<sup>18</sup>. Repeating names in succeeding generations allowed for easy confusion and false assumptions, and only one source needed to make a mistake for misidentifications to enter the literary tradition whence they would continue in the accounts of later authors. Consequently, Suetonius' evidence that Drusus Claudianus was a Pulcher by birth may not be

<sup>15</sup> Suet., *Tib.* 2.1. Cic., *de Sen.* 37, followed by Val. Max. VIII 13.5, states that *quatuor robustos filios, quinque filias, tantam domum, tantas clientelas Appius regebat et caecus et senex*. These four sons have been identified by Münzer and Drumann as Ap. Claudius Rufus (*RE* 317, cos. 268), P. Claudius Pulcher (*RE* 304, cos. 249), C. Claudius Centho (*RE* 104, cos. 240), and a Ti. Claudius Nero postulated from the filiations of C. Claudius Ti.f. Ti.n. Nero (*RE* 246, cos. 207) and Ti. Claudius P.f. Ti.n. Nero (*RE* 249, cos. 202). See Figure 1.

<sup>16</sup> Suet., *Tib.* 2.2. WISEMAN, *Clio's Cosmetics*, p. 81.

<sup>17</sup> IHM, p. 303–304; BROUGHTON, *MRR* I, p. 200 n. 1, not only accepts this but also suggests that the attempted tyranny of 'Drusus' may actually explain why Russus died in office. This suggestion has become so prevalent that the emendation of Russus appears in some editions of Suetonius despite the manuscript evidence of Drusus. The implication is that Suetonius or one of his copyists made a mistake due to the presence of Livii Drusi in the sketch of Tiberius' background. There is, of course, no way to prove that Suetonius did not actually intend *Drusus* rather than *Russus*; one could argue that he is referring to an individual and an event currently unknown. However interesting this would be in considering the relations of the Livii and the Claudii at such an early date, it would be unusual for a patrician family to take the cognomen of a plebeian family.

<sup>18</sup> Pliny, *NH* XV 2 and Flor. I 18.29 also give *Appius* as his praenomen. Pliny further states that he was the *grandson*, not the son, of Caecus. Cic., *de Div.* I 29, however, correctly refers to him as P. Claudius.

reliable, especially since Suetonius is the only source that maintains this identification<sup>19</sup>.

Drusus Claudianus' legal line of descent was through his adoptive family, the *gens Livia*, from which Livia received her name. Suetonius recalls the family's prominence, pointing out that members of the family had obtained the consulship, censorship, dictatorship, and the position of master of horse<sup>20</sup>. The Livian cognomen *Drusus*, the name which Drusus Claudianus himself bore after his adoption, helps identify the adoptive father with relative certainty. Suetonius explains that a Livius first took the name after he slew an enemy chieftain named Drausus in single combat<sup>21</sup>. The earliest recorded Livius to have born this cognomen appears to have been a certain Livius Drusus, who served as *magister equitum* in 324, but no historical narrative mentions this master of horse nor definitively establishes that he was the one who fought Drausus<sup>22</sup>.

<sup>19</sup> Tac., *Ann.* VI 51 claims only that Tiberius was «Claudian on both sides» without providing details. How much Suetonius depended upon other authors, upon commonly held knowledge, or upon information on lineage kept by the Claudii themselves is impossible to determine. Rhetoric itself could have been a reason for proposing a Pulcher ancestry for Drusus Claudianus. In Suetonius' review of the Claudii, he presents the two most important Claudian *stirpes* as diverging from the most famous early Claudian, Caecus; they then reunite in the person of the most famous — or infamous — recent Claudian, Suetonius' subject the emperor Tiberius.

<sup>20</sup> Suet., *Tib.* 3.1. For a detailed history of these Livii and an analysis of their involvement in the politics and family alliances of Rome, see MOMMSEN, *Römische Forschungen*, I, p. 73f.5; MÜNZER, *Roman Aristocratic Parties*, p. 147-148, 205-216; HUNTSMAN, p. 4-11.

<sup>21</sup> Suet., *Tib.* 3.2. MÜNZER, *Livius (Drusus)*, no. 12, col. 853. A bilingual inscription in Latin and Celtic from Tuder in Umbria suggests that the name is of Celtic derivation (*CIL* I<sup>2</sup> 2103 = XI 4687), and this accords with Suetonius' accompanying report that, while serving as propraetor, this Livius Drusus brought back from Cisalpine Gaul gold that the Senones had captured at the time of Camillus. This military operation would appear to provide an occasion for the duel between a Livius and Drusus. CHASE, p. 110, notes that it could also be a cognomen belonging to the class of names which refer to physical peculiarities; he suggests that in this case *Drusus* originally meant 'stiff'. See WALDE, s.v. 'Drusus', where *drusus* is seen as a corruption of *durus*, hence a Latin, not a Gallic, word. Here it could suggest *patiens*, *rigidus*, or *contumax* and refer as much to a personality trait of stubbornness or unyieldingness as to a physical quality of stiffness.

<sup>22</sup> 324 is one of the 'dictator years' for which documentary evidence indicates extraordinary magistracies, yet the major historical authors fail to do so (BROUGHTON, *MRR* I, p. 148-149). MOMMSEN, *Römische Forschungen*, II, p. 34, postulated the existence of a M. Livius Drusus (*RE* 13), perhaps the grandson of Livius Drusus (*RE* 12, *mag. eq.* 324). In his opinion Suetonius or his sources compressed two different accounts. One told of an early Livius Drusus who fought with a Celtic chieftain and took an honorific cognomen to mark the event. Another recounted a Livius Drusus who, after serving as praetor, fought the Senones in 283 in the Ager Gallicus, recapturing stolen gold (Polyb. II 19.9-12). MÜNZER, *Roman Aristocratic Parties*, p. 207-208, relying upon the evidence of *Fast. Hyd.* and *Chr. Pasc.* *CIL* I<sup>2</sup> p. 130, rejects Mommsen's proposal, maintaining that the *magister equitum* was the first Drusus. See BROUGHTON, *MRR* I, p. 149, 153.



The name then appears to have lapsed until a son or grandson of M. Livius Salinator (*RE* 33), consul in 219 and 207 and then censor in 204, renewed its use (see Figure 2)<sup>23</sup>.

The Livii Drusi of the late second and early first century were particularly prominent, so Livia's conscious use of the feminine diminutive *Drusilla*, a name Livia used at least until her marriage to Octavian, is significant<sup>24</sup>. M. Livius C.f. M. Aemiliani n. Drusus (*RE* 17), often referred to as Drusus the Elder to distinguish him from his homonymous son, is best known as the tribune of the plebs of 122 who, on behalf of the more conservative senatorial party, countered C. Sempronius Gracchus<sup>25</sup>. His successful political career included a consulship in 112 and a censorship in 109<sup>26</sup>. His son, M. Livius M.f. C.n. Drusus (*RE* 18, here referred to as Drusus the Younger), apparently began his *cursus* with a quaestorship in Asia, and he might have been aedile, perhaps in 94<sup>27</sup>.

<sup>23</sup> The first securely attested Drusus in the second century is C. Livius M. Aemiliani f. M.n. Drusus (*RE* 14, *cos.* 147). MÜNZER, *Roman Aristocratic Parties*, p. 214-216, suggests that the Livii Salinatores and Drusi were not two collateral lines. Rather M. Livius Salinator (*RE* 33, *cos.* 219, 207; *cens.* 204) had two sons: his naturally born son received the father's praenomen *Salinator* but the secondary praenomen *Gaius* while his adopted son received the father's praenomen *Marcus* but was given the earlier Livian cognomen *Drusus*.

<sup>24</sup> On Livia's nomenclature, note OLLENDORF's observation (*Livius [Livia]*, no. 37, col. 900; see also GARDTHAUSEN, I 2, p. 1019 and II 2, p. 632 n. 7) which is based largely upon the epigraphic evidence which indicates that *Drusilla* was rarely employed in Latin inscriptions (e.g., *CIL* VI 13179; see HUNTSMAN, Appendix 2, Table 1b, p. 279-280). The reason could be that this form of her father's cognomen was displaced by the genitive of her new husband's name (she is never attested as *Livia Neronis* prior to her second marriage), *Caesaris* being more prestigious than *Drusilla* (e.g. *CIL* XI 6709, 33 and 7488; cf. also the usage by Scribonia [31]). *Livia Caesaris* is, after 27, usually replaced by *Livia Caesaris Augusti* or simply *Livia Augusti* (see HUNTSMAN, Appendix 2: Epigraphic Evidence for Livia's Nomenclature, p. 278-286). While it does not seem to continue in Livia's official nomenclature, forms of *Drusilla* do appear in Greek inscriptions that are clearly later than the marriage in 38: *AE* 1971, 439 (Eleusis); *IG* XII 8 381.6 (Thasos); *IGRR* I-II 835 (Thasos); and *SEG* XXIV (1969) 212 (Eleusis). Similarly the name also appears in some literary references (Plin., *NH* XV 137; Suet., *Aug.* 62, *Tib.* 4; Dio XLVIII 15), although in Suetonius' case the name is used only when referring to Livia before her marriage to Octavian.

<sup>25</sup> App., *BC* I 23; Plut., *C. Gracch.* 9.2-3. Drusus' Aemilian background might help explain his allegiance to those who initially opposed the Gracchi (see BOREN, p. 29). While it is true that the adoptions of Scipio Aemilianus and Fabius Aemilianus appear to have created a new alliance that forced the Gracchi to look elsewhere for political support (i.e., to the Claudii), they too had Aemilian blood.

<sup>26</sup> BROUGHTON, *MRR* I, p. 517, 538, and 545.

<sup>27</sup> His filiation is known from *CIL* I<sup>2</sup> 1 p. 199 = Degraffi, *Inscr. Ital.* XIII 3 no. 74. This *elogium* does not mention his quaestorship in Asia (his service in Asia might have been the occasion of his episode of epilepsy at Antikyra [Plin., *NH* XXV 52]) or his aedileship, offices which are deduced from [Aur. Vict.] *de Vir. Ill.* 66.1-3. BROUGHTON *MRR* I, p. 569, 570 n. 4, II, p. 12-13, 14 n. 1 for offices; III, p. 126 for a discussion of the problems of both the *elogium* and the *vita* as sources.



As tribune of the plebs, his activities and murder in 91 helped ignite the Social War. The names *Drusus* and *Drusilla*, as employed by Drusus Claudianus and Livia, thus recalled the popular associations of the Livii as prominent senators, active tribunes of the people, and advocates of the Italians<sup>28</sup>.

#### DRUSUS CLAUDIANUS' ADOPTION, CONNECTIONS, AND WEALTH

Drusus Claudianus' adoption from the *gens Claudia* to the *gens Livia* gave him the combined luster of many notable ancestors, a double legacy that he passed to his daughter Livia. The exact identity of Drusus Claudianus' adoptive father, however, is uncertain. The marriage of Drusus the Younger to Servilia (*RE* 99) did not produce any known children<sup>29</sup>. Since Drusus Claudianus' filiation is not known, his father cannot be conclusively identified, but his use of the praenomen Marcus and the lack of any other prominent Livius with the cognomen Drusus make likely the conventional assumption that the tribune of 91 adopted him<sup>30</sup>.

<sup>28</sup> See BARRETT, p. 7, and Figure 2. Livia's second son, originally named Decimus Claudius Nero, was eventually known as Nero Claudius Drusus. Dropping the praenomen and moving the paternal cognomen to the position of praenomen was an increasingly popular practice at this period, and the assumption of *Drusus* as a new cognomen foreshadows the pattern of taking a maternal nomen or cognomen, a practice that later became prevalent in the empire (SYME, *Imperator Caesar*, p. 174). In this instance *Drusus* emphasized the maternity of the boy by recalling the adoptive family of his mother (see HUNTSMAN, p. 73-74). Other descendants of Livia using forms of *Drusus* include her grandson Drusus Claudius Nero (the son of the emperor Tiberius and later Drusus Iulius Caesar), and two great grandchildren, Nero Iulius Caesar and Iulia Drusilla (children of Germanicus and Vipsania Agrippina).

<sup>29</sup> MÜNZER, *Servilius* (*Servilia*), no. 99, col. 1817.

<sup>30</sup> BARRETT, p. 8. Significantly, no ancient source positively identifies Drusus Claudianus' adoptive father with the famous *tribunus plebis* of 91, although one would expect the sources to note a direct link with such an important figure. The identification, then, seems to be largely an argument *ex silentio* since no other candidate immediately presents himself. This does not mean that an otherwise unknown brother or cousin of the younger Drusus could not have been the *adoptans* of Drusus Claudianus.

One other prominent figure of Livian background besides Drusus (18) is known from this generation. Mam. Aemilius Lepidus Livianus (*RE* 80, *cos.* 77), perhaps a natural son of M. Livius C.f. M. Aemiliani n. Drusus (*RE* 17), had a distinguished career that included the censorship, and in 70 he was named *princeps senatus* (*CIL* I<sup>2</sup> p. 27 = Degraffi, *Inscr. Ital.* XIII 1 no. 57; see MÜNZER, *Roman Aristocratic Parties*, p. 286-289). The agnomen of this Lepidus Livianus indicates that he was born a Livius, and his cooption into the pontifical college in the place of the murdered Drusus (18) suggests that he may have been his younger brother (see Macrobius, *Sat.* III 13.11. See BROUGHTON, *MRR* II, p. 23 and 186-187; SUMNER, *Mamius or Mamercus*, p. 44). Lepidus Livianus' adoptive father was probably M. Aemilius Lepidus (*RE* 71, *cos.* 126) or perhaps M. Aemilius Lepidus Porcina (*RE* 83, *cos.* 137); in either case, according to SUMNER, *Orators in Cicero's Brutus*,

Münzer at one point, however, proposed that Drusus Claudianus might have been a Claudius Nero; he then tried to reconcile this claim with Suetonius' information by suggesting that the Pulchri and the Neronēs had at some time, perhaps even as early as C. Claudius Nero (*RE* 246, *cos.* 207), intermarried, thus giving Drusus Claudianus both ancestries.<sup>31</sup> This suggestion has gained some following, especially in view of his daughter Livia's later marriage to a Nero, but many continue to maintain that Drusus Claudianus was by birth a Pulcher<sup>32</sup>. Both the Pulchri and the Neronēs had a history of some association with the Livii in the late fourth and third century<sup>33</sup>, but no further evidence exists regarding a

p. 64-65, Lepidus Livianus' praenomen was probably affected in order to revive «the venerable form of the praenomen, harking back to the supposed founder of the *gens*, Mamercus Aemilius». Born c. 119, this Livius would have been adopted by a Lepidus no later than 88 when he was first attested as an Aemilius Lepidus (see SUMNER, *Manius or Mamercus*, p. 45). Prior to that he would have still been a Livius and capable of adopting Drusus Claudianus. As a natural brother of a Marcus Livius, however, he would have borne the other common Livian praenomen *Gaius* or perhaps one of the other names attested for the *gens* — *Gnaeus*, *Lucius*, *Decius* or its alternate *Decimus*, or even *Titus* (see HUNTSMAN, p. 21 n. 81). One of these praenomina could rule out Lepidus Livianus as a possible adoptive father since Drusus Claudianus' praenomen was *Marcus*; an adopted son usually took his new father's praenomen. Nevertheless, no filiation is preserved for Drusus Claudianus, so another praenomen is not impossible. Lepidus Livianus could himself have been born a *Marcus* if he had been a cousin rather than a brother of Drusus (18), and cases are known of two brothers german bearing the same praenomen.

<sup>31</sup> MÜNZER, *Livius*, no. 19, col. 882.

<sup>32</sup> OLLENDORF, *Livius (Livia)*, no. 37, col. 901, followed by SIRAGO, p. 176, believes that Livia married her first cousin. WILLRICH, p. 8, did not offer an opinion while SYME, *Roman Revolution*, p. 229, and CALHOON, p. 9, content themselves with saying that Livia married a «kinsman» or «relative». For those who maintain that Drusus Claudianus was a Pulcher, see note 10 *supra*. MÜNZER himself, after suggesting Neronian ancestry, nevertheless placed a «Claudius Pulcher, später M. Livius Drusus Claudianus» in his *RE* stemma.

<sup>33</sup> The first attested connection with the Claudii is itself indirect: a M. Livius married a Pacuvia Calavia, who was herself the product of a marriage between Pacuvius Calavius, a Capuan noble, and a Claudia Appii f. (Liv. XXIII 2.6). Despite the fact that this M. Livius is regularly presumed to be M. Livius Salinator, the consul of 219 and 207, the text of Livy itself provides neither filiations nor cognomens in this passage (MÜNZER, *Livius [Salinator]*, no. 33, col. 892; BOREN, p. 28). Nevertheless, the Calavii marriages indicate that the Livii and the Claudii had interests in Campania; that they both married into the same family suggests that they may have been allied at the time.

The career of M. Livius Salinator reveals another Claudian connection, this time with the Neronēs. Salinator was pressed into running for consul in order to serve as the colleague of C. Claudius Ti.f. Ti.n. Nero (246) in 207. Despite the historiographic tradition of mutual enmity at the beginning of their consulship, the two worked closely together at the Battle of Metaurus (Liv. XXVII 35.7, followed by [Aur. Vict.] *de Vir. Ill.* 50). Furthermore, Nero named Salinator *dictator comitiorum habendorum causa*, and the elections that the latter presided over served to advance the lieutenants of both (see BROUGHTON, *MRR* I, p. 296-298). Salinator and Nero were again colleagues in 204 when they held the censorship together; iteration of the same pair of officeholders is often a

marriage connection or a political alliance between the two *gentes* before the adoption of Drusus Claudianus. In fact, during the tribunate of the elder Drusus in 122, the Livii and the Claudii Pulchri seem to have been on opposite sides of the political conflict surrounding Gaius Gracchus.<sup>34</sup> We do not know whether the younger Drusus inherited his father's opposition to the Claudii Pulchri since the latter's position in regard to his tribunate in 91 is at best unclear, but that branch of the Claudii did have a connection to Drusus' enemy L. Marcus Q.f. Q.n. Philippus (*RE* 75, *cos.* 91)<sup>35</sup>. While they are not conclusive, these political factors make it unlikely that Drusus would have chosen to adopt from the Pulchri; this, together with considerations arising from the marriage of Livia to a Claudius Nero make a Neronian origin for Drusus Claudianus more of a possibility than has often been considered. Another possible connection to the Neronians may be discerned in Drusus Claudianus' own marriage to Alfidia of Fundi<sup>36</sup>, where the Neronians may have had interests<sup>37</sup>.

sign of a close political working relationship. Nonetheless the alliance seems to have broken down towards the end of their censorship in a famous case of simultaneous 'black-listing' (*Liv.* XXIX 37).

<sup>34</sup> Page 00 and note 25 *supra*. The Pulchri had family ties with the Gracchi; Ap. Claudius Pulcher (295, *cos.* 143) was the father-in-law of Tiberius Gracchus, and his sister's daughter by P. Licinius Crassus Mucianus was the wife of Gaius Gracchus. See MÜNZER, *Roman Aristocratic Parties*, p. 236-258.

<sup>35</sup> Badian, p. 325-331, accepts much of Gabba's list of Drusus' friends and associates; he further puts the Claudii Pulchri on the side of a Metellan dominated opposition to Drusus. L. Marcus Q.f. Q.n. Philippus was the son of Claudia (*RE* 386, see Cic., *Dom.* 84) and Q. Marcus Philippus (see MÜNZER, *Marcus*, no. 75, col. 1562). Claudia was the daughter of Ap. Claudius Pulcher (*RE* 295, *cos.* 143), *socer* of Tib. Gracchus.

<sup>36</sup> Suet., *Gaius* 23.2 seems to maintain that Livia's mother was Aufidia of Fundi, but epigraphic evidence proves that the wife of Drusus Claudianus was named Alfidia (see *CIL* II 1667, 9.3661; *IGRR* IV 983); see J. LINDERSKI, *The Mother of Livia Augusta and the Aufidii Lurcones of the Republic*, *Historia* 23 (1974), p. 463-480. A group of inscriptions set up after Augustus' death in Marruvium commemorates several members of the imperial family and also includes the names of both Alfidia and Drusus Claudianus (*CIL* IX 3660-3663 = *ILS* 124-125<sup>a</sup>, 149). This had earlier led WISEMAN, *The Mother of Livia Augusta*, p. 333-334, to propose that Marruvium, not Fundi, was Alfidia's hometown. However, the late date and the number of members of the imperial family included in the group do not support a special connection of Alfidia with Marruvium; it is just as likely that the family had interests there because any one of its members had acquired property in Marruvium or had served as patrons of the community. Suetonius, despite his error in the name of Alfidia's father, repeated the claim of Fundi twice (in addition to *Gaius* 23.2, a comment regarding Tiberius' birthplace in *Tib.* 5 also maintains that Alfidia came from Fundi), and another Alfidius, C. Alfidius C. (f.) Rufio, is attested there (*CIL* X 6248) while no others are known in Marruvium. We can be reasonably confident, therefore, that Drusus Claudianus' wife was Alfidia of Fundi.

<sup>37</sup> A *tessera hospitalis* from Fundi bears the name Ti. Cl[audius?] (*CIL* I<sup>2</sup> 611). The praenomen *Tiberius* appears commonly only among the patrician Claudii Neronians and their clients the plebeian Claudii Aselli (SALOMIES, p. 56, notes its occurrence, usually

The date of Drusus Claudianus' adoption is likewise uncertain, but one thing is clear: whereas Roman adoptions were often of older boys or even grown men, Drusus Claudianus must have been adopted at a very young age if the younger Drusus were his adoptive father. Drusus Claudianus was a *iudex quaestionis* presiding over cases under the *lex Scantinia* in 50; if he filled this position as a praetor elected *suo anno*, he would have been born in 89, two years *after* M. Livius Drusus' murder. If he were *iudex* prior to the praetorship, the time gap between birth and adoption is larger. Even assuming that Drusus Claudianus reached this level of the *cursus* late, the probability is high that the younger Drusus, if he were the adoptive father, adopted him as an infant and that the action took place very close to his own death in November of 91<sup>38</sup>.

Of the three adoption strategies available to a prospective adoptive father, *adrogatio*, the movement of an individual *sui iuris* into the *potestas* of another where he assumed the role *filius familias*, does not seem to have been an option in the case of Drusus Claudianus due to his age at the time of the younger Drusus' death<sup>39</sup>. According to the forms of another type of adoption, *datio in adoptionem*, a new agnatic tie was created through the exchange of the *potestas* of one's natural father for that of another<sup>40</sup>; by this method, a member of the Claudian *gens* must have agreed to allow Drusus or another Livius to adopt one of his sons. Under this arrangement the agnatic link between Drusus Claudianus and his natural father was broken, although he remained a cognate of his

rare, among the patrician Aemilii, Corneliai, Papirii, Veturii and the plebeian Minucii and Sempronii). Exploring this shred of evidence, RAWSON, *The Eastern Clientelae of Clodius and the Claudii*, p. 221-223, suggests that the Neroni may have been patrons of the town.

<sup>38</sup> Few years are gained if Lepidus Livianus proved to be the adoptive father since the adoption would need to have occurred no later than 88. Consequently, it is possible that neither of these men was involved and that an otherwise unknown Livius was the *adoptans*.

<sup>39</sup> Because *adrogatio* entailed the destruction of a family and the possible neglect of ancestral *sacra*, it was a legislative act in the *comitia calata*, held normally on March 24 or May 24, that required the assent of the *adrogator*, the *adrogandus*, and the *curiae* as represented in the late Republic by thirty lictors. See BUCKLAND, p. 124-128. The procedure occurred only after pontifical examination to assess need, namely the extinction of one family in order to save another. If M. Livius Drusus (*RE* 18) did not have any male heirs, his case would have been valid. Since *impuberes* were not admitted into any assembly, until the time of Antoninus Pius they were not regularly allowed to be *adrogated* (see THOMAS, p. 438; BUCKLAND, p. 129). Drusus Claudianus' age also suggests that Lepidus Livianus would not have had recourse to *adrogatio* prior to his own adoption three years later.

<sup>40</sup> *FIRA* I 25 (Table IV 2b); BUCKLAND, p. 123.

original family, thus preserving some level of family ties and interests in property<sup>41</sup>. Due to the circumstances surrounding the younger Drusus' sudden death in 91 and because of the age difference between him and Drusus Claudianus, Münzer believed that a Claudius became the legal son of the younger Drusus through 'testamentary adoption'<sup>42</sup>. Testamentary adoption was most likely simply a conditional *heredis institutio* that named an heir on *condicio nominis ferendi*. If this were the method of adoption in the case of Drusus Claudianus, he would have retained his position in his original family but would also have inherited from M. Livius Drusus on the condition that he take the name *Livius Drusus*. Syme has observed that, although there were no rigid rules of nomenclature in such cases, the adoptee tended to retain his original tribe, patronymic, and in some cases even praenomen<sup>43</sup>. Since Drusus Claudianus' filiation and tribe are not known, we cannot judge whether the adoption was more likely to have been testamentary than the simpler *datio in adoptionem*<sup>44</sup>.

By either of these forms of adoption, if Drusus the Younger were the adoptive father, Drusus Claudianus could have inherited all or a major part of his estate and would have benefitted from the political weight of his adoptive father's name, long-standing family alliances, and perhaps hereditary connections among the newly enfranchised *socii* whom his adoptive father had championed<sup>45</sup>. Plutarch claimed that Drusus the

<sup>41</sup> BUCKLAND, p. 367.

<sup>42</sup> MÜNZER, *Livius (Drusus)*, no. 19, col. 882. A will itself could not change legal status, family, or tribe unless, perhaps, its conditions for a posthumous adrogation were later ratified by the *comitia calata*. See SYME, *Clues to Testamentary Adoption*, p. 397, and BARRETT, p. 13. Much of the conventional thinking regarding testamentary adoption stems from the famous example of Julius Caesar's posthumous adoption of Octavian; PRÉVOST (*L'adoption d'Octave*, *RIDA* 5 [1950], p. 361ff) and SCHULTZ, p. 145) follow Mommsen's proposal (*Röm. Staatsr.* III, p. 39f.) that testamentary adrogation was valid *if* ratified afterwards. Opposition to this view stems from *Dig.* I 7.25: *absens nec per alium*, indicating that adrogation *in absentia* or by proxy was impossible. See MICHEL, p. 721ff.; SCHMITTHENNER; WEINRIB, p. 253-260; CHAMPLIN, p. 144-146. For further discussion of this form of adoption, see KONRAD, p. 124-127, and LINDERSKI, *Q. Scipio Imperator*, p. 148-154.

<sup>43</sup> SYME, *Clues to Testamentary Adoption*, p. 163.

<sup>44</sup> LEVICK, p. 228 n. 10, points out that Drusus Claudianus' use of the praenomen *Marcus* weighs against testamentary adoption since a patrician Claudius would have been unlikely to have used that name.

<sup>45</sup> It is unclear whether he would have inherited the patronage of M. Livius Drusus' clientele under testamentary adoption unless a subsequent legal enactment such as that of Octavian's (App., *BC* III 389) was already the regular procedure.

Elder had been one of the wealthiest Romans of his day, and Diodorus called the younger Drusus the richest man in Rome<sup>46</sup>. His inheritance would have included family property in Rome itself and perhaps estates in Campania, Pisaurum, and Magna Graecia<sup>47</sup>. A testamentary adoption would have allowed Drusus Claudianus to maintain his status in his natural family and would have made an inheritance there likely; even in the case of *datio in adoptionem*, as a cognate an adopted child does not appear to have lost all rights of inheritance in his family of birth, and his interests in his father's estate was debated down to the time of Justinian<sup>48</sup>. Accordingly Drusus Claudianus' birth family may

<sup>46</sup> Plut., *C. Gracch.* 8.4. Although much of it may have been family wealth, FRANK, I, p. 297-298, suggests that M. Livius Drusus (18) may have increased his wealth substantially through booty obtained from his campaigns against the Scordisci in Macedonia. SHATZMAN, p. 276 n. 112, cautions that Frank's assumption is guesswork.

Diod. XXXVII 10.1, which may be hyperbole. Dio (Fr. 96.2) also notes his great wealth. [Aur. Vict.] *de Vir. Ill.* 66.5-7 preserves a tradition that his vast expenses left him in debt by 91 BC, but SHATZMAN, p. 277 n. 117, notes that this could be the result of anti-Drusus propaganda (see Cic., *de Or.* 3.2; Plin., *NH* XXV 52, XXXIII 20; [Aur. Vict.] *de Vir. Ill.* 66.8-10). Other questionable remarks used by Shatzman in evaluating M. Livius Drusus' (18) wealth are Plin., *NH* XXXIII 141 (that he had 10,000 pounds of silver in the year of his tribunate) and [Aur. Vict.] *de Vir. Ill.* 66.1-3 (*aedilis munus magnificentissimum dedit*).

<sup>47</sup> See HUNTSMAN, p. 26-27. The younger Drusus built a considerable home on the Palatine on the site later owned by Cicero, Censorinus, and then Statilius Sienna (Vell. Pat. II 14.3; see also Cic., *Mil.* 16, *Nat. D.* III 80), and Drusus Claudianus himself owned gardens outside of Rome that he tried on several occasions to sell to Cicero (Cic., *Att.* XII 21.2, 22.3, 23.3; XIII 6.1).

If Lepidus Livianus was the *adoptans*, Drusus Claudianus may well have been the heir of the Livian estate once his adoptive father passed into the Aemilian *gens*. This could, perhaps, account for Drusus Claudianus' praenomen. If Lepidus Livianus adopted a Claudius in the time between his brother's death in 91 but with an eye to his own adoption sometime before 88, Drusus Claudianus could have taken the name *Marcus* to indicate that he was continuing the line of the Livii Drusi by taking the place of Drusus the Younger, who as we have noted, seems to have died childless. Later, according to Cicero, Lepidus Livianus was himself a very rich man, although how much Drusus Claudianus could have benefitted from his wealth is not known (Cic., *Off.* II 58; SHATZMAN, p. 262).

<sup>48</sup> Nothing prevented the natural father from including the adopted child in his will (CORBIER, p. 75); even in cases of intestate succession brought before a praetor, the child's continuing status as a cognate ranked him after *liberi* and *legitimi*. Justinian's code finally defined the issue with the institution of *adoptio minus plena* (BUCKLAND, p. 123). Relations between natural fathers and sons could remain close, as was the case of L. Aemilius L.f. M.n. Paullus Macedonicus (114, *cos.* 182, 168) with his sons Q. Fabius Q.f. Q.n. Maximus Aemilianus (109, *cos.* 145) and P. Cornelius P.f. P.n. Scipio Africanus Aemilianus (335, *cos.* 147, 134). See Plut., *Aem. Paul.* 39 for the Paullus' provisions for these two natural sons in his will. The fact that his other two sons, who had remained

have maintained their relationship with him, and he may have inherited from them<sup>49</sup>.

Financial implications of the adoption aside, Drusus Claudianus would have benefitted from the important political connections of both his natural and adoptive family. Besides the renown of two illustrious gentilician names, he would have been in a position to assume the *amicitiae* and connections of his families. These bonds would have been a major part of Livia's political dowry, and they were reinforced by her first marriage to Ti. Claudius Nero.

#### LIVIA'S INHERITANCE AND MARRIAGE

Details of Livia's childhood are unknown, but throughout the first sixteen years of her life her father was active in Roman politics. Drusus Claudianus first appears in our sources in 59, perhaps the same year as his marriage to Alfidia, as a Roman noble hoping to benefit from the activities of the political alliance of Pompey, Crassus, and Caesar. Cicero

Aemilii Pauli, were dead by this time helps to explain why Fabius Aemilianus and Scipio Aemilianus would remain important beneficiaries. *Aem. Paul.* 32 maintains that Paullus loved Scipio Aemilianus the best of all of his sons and uses an incident from the battle of Pydna — after the adoption — to illustrate this. The example of Scipio Aemilianus' attention and financial support of his natural mother, Papiria, also illustrates the continued relationships of an adopted son with his natural family (Polyb. XXXI 26). See ASTIN, p. 12-13 and 32-33; also DIXON, p. 151.

<sup>49</sup> MÜNZER *Livius (Drusus)*, no. 19, col. 882, points out that the Claudii in the generation of Drusus Claudianus are not well known. Little information survives concerning the circumstances of C. Claudius Ap.f. C.n. Pulcher (302, *cos.* 92), MÜNZER's choice for the natural father of Drusus Claudianus (see note *supra*), although he gave expensive games as aedile in 99 (BROUGHTON, *MRR* II, p. 1; SHATZMAN, p. 267). Varro, *Rust.* III 16.1-2 provides some information regarding the conditions in which Ap. Claudius Ap.f. C.n. Pulcher (*RE* 296, *cos.* 79) left his family when he died as proconsul in Macedonia (BROUGHTON, *MRR* II, p. 94). One of Varro's interlocutors, identified as Ap. Claudius Ap.f. Ap.n. Pulcher (*RE* 297, *cos.* 54), claims that he was left *pauper* at the untimely death of his father. «Poor» here may be a relative term in comparison with other wealthy members of the senatorial aristocracy (SHATZMAN, p. 321-124, who also suggests in his note 115 that his father, Ap. Claudius Pulcher (296), might have borrowed heavily against expected returns from his province, but his death prevented him from realizing any profits from his governorship). The *de Re Rustica* passage reveals that upon his father's death Appius had two sisters and two brothers (identified as C. Claudius Pulcher [*RE* 303, *pr.* 56] and P. Clodius Pulcher [*RE* 48, *tr. pl.* 58]); because of the family's financial straits, Appius was not able to provide for his sister's dowries or his brother's careers, making it doubtful that Drusus Claudianus could have received anything from the Pulchri if they had indeed been his birth family.



tells us that in that year Drusus Claudianus was closely associated with P. Vatinius P.f. (*RE* 3, *cos.* 47), hoping to receive a commission to go to Alexandria to collect money<sup>50</sup>.

Drusus Claudianus next appears as a defendant on the charge of *praevaricatio*, prosecuted by a man named Lucretius<sup>51</sup>. His family and political connections helped him, and Caesar directly intervened to engage Cicero to defend him, resulting in his acquittal<sup>52</sup>. Speaking against Drusus Claudianus at his trial was Licinius Calvus, who had also launched a charge that year against Vatinius. Perhaps the two cases were linked, perhaps an indication that the relationship with Vatinius mentioned in 59 continued<sup>53</sup>. If so, Claudianus may have served alongside Vatinius as praetor in 55 as part of the group of magistrates helped into office by Pompey and Crassus who then suffered prosecution the following year<sup>54</sup>. If he was not praetor in 55, then he probably was before or during the year 50 when he presided over a *quaestio* trying cases under the *lex Scantinia*<sup>55</sup>.

Nothing explicit is known about Drusus Claudianus' stance during the civil war between Caesar and Pompey; Münzer supposed that he remained neutral, but Shackleton-Bailey tentatively proposed that he was on the Caesarian side<sup>56</sup>. In 45, the year that the Pompeian remnants were conclusively defeated at Munda, Drusus Claudianus appears frequently in the correspondence of Cicero while the latter was searching for property on which to build a memorial to his daughter Tullia<sup>57</sup>.

<sup>50</sup> This was the year of Vatinius' plebeian tribunate (BROUGHTON, *MRR* II, p. 190; GUNDEL, art. *Vatinius*, no. 3, in *RE* VIII A 1 [1955], col. 511-512), in which he was a strong supporter of the first triumvirate and brought about Caesar's Gallic command. Cic., *Att.* II 7.3 for the Alexandria commission. SHATZMAN, p. 382 n. 654, proposes that the mission was to collect money which Ptolemy XII Auletes owed Caesar.

<sup>51</sup> Cic., *Att.* IV 16.5; Tac., *Dial.* 21.2.

<sup>52</sup> Cic., *Att.* IV 15.9, 17.5; *QFr.* II 16.1 and 3.

<sup>53</sup> GRUEN, p. 318.

<sup>54</sup> TAYLOR, p. 23 n. 30 and 24-25 n. 36. This suggestion, although possible, is based upon conjecture. GRUEN, p. 318 n. 34, advises that the matter be left open.

<sup>55</sup> Cic., *Fam.* VIII 12.3, 14.4. *Praetor*: DRUMANN, Claudius no. 30, II, p. 158. *Praetor or Iudex quaestionis*: MÜNZER, *Livius (Drusus)*, no. 19, col. 883. For the *lex Scantinia de nefanda venere*, see ROTONDI, p. 293; WEISS, art. *Lex Scantinia*, in *RE* XII 2 (1925), col. 2413; BOSWELL, p. 65-69; CANTRELLA, p. 106-114.

<sup>56</sup> MÜNZER *Livius (Drusus)*, no. 19, col. 883. SHACKLETON-BAILEY, p. 262 n. 2, citing Drusus Claudianus' activities in 59, the circumstances of his trial in 54, his presence in Italy in 47, and his daughter's marriages.

<sup>57</sup> Cic., *Att.* XII 21.2, 22.3, 23.3, 25.2, 31.2, 33.1, 37.2, 38.2, 39.2, 41.3, 44.2; XIII 6.1.



Drusus Claudianus owned gardens across the Tiber that were convenient to Rome, but Cicero balked at the high price, and the deal fell through in May of that same year<sup>58</sup>.

After the assassination of Caesar in 44, Drusus Claudianus moved away from those who claimed to be the successors of the dictator. In April of 43 he co-sponsored with L. Aemilius M.f. Q.n. Lepidus Paullus (*RE* 81, *cos.* 50) a resolution of the Senate assigning two legions to Decimus Brutus.<sup>59</sup> This action incurred the wrath of Antony, and at the end of that year he was proscribed by the triumvirs<sup>60</sup>. After fleeing east, he joined the forces of Brutus and Cassius. His position among their forces is not known, but he may have held high command at the Battle of Philippi in October 42<sup>61</sup>. Following the defeat of the Republican forces, Drusus Claudianus committed suicide<sup>62</sup>.

It is not known how much, if any, of his property was actually confiscated after his proscription nor how his will disposed of any surviving property. As the only known child, Livia would have inherited some patronal rights and obligations over the clients of the Livii. She would also be expected to be a major beneficiary of his will. According to the *lex Voconia* of 168 women were barred from becoming *heredes* of any testator of the first census class, and no legatee of either sex was able to inherit more than the heir or heirs<sup>63</sup>. While irregular censuses in the late Republic may have impaired the application of the law, the amount that Livia was able to inherit from her father upon her father's death was, in all probability, limited to just less than half of his total estate. The other part of his estate apparently went to a Scribonius Libo, son of a L. Scribonius Libo, whom Drusus Claudianus instituted as his posthumous heir with a *condicio nominis ferendi*. His new son thus continued the family name by assuming the nomenclature *M. Livius L.f. Drusus Libo*<sup>64</sup>.

<sup>58</sup> Cic., *Att.* XIII 6.1.

<sup>59</sup> Cic., *Fam.* XI 14.2, 19.1.

<sup>60</sup> Dio XLVIII 44.1. See HINARD, p. 485-486.

<sup>61</sup> BROUGHTON, *MRR* II, Supplement, p. 36.

<sup>62</sup> Vell. II 71.3, 75.3; Dio XLVIII 44.1.

<sup>63</sup> Gaius, *Inst.* II 274. See BUCKLAND, p. 289, and GARDNER, p. 170. Cicero's opinion of the law expressed in *Rep.* III 17 was that it was unjust to women; GARDNER, p. 174, notes that he was probably referring to cases in which a man's only child was a daughter, who could not be made his heir if he belonged to the first census class.

<sup>64</sup> See FLUSS, art. *Livius*, no. 20, in *RE* XIII 1 (1926), col. 884. The *fasti Colatini* (*CIL* I<sup>2</sup> p. 64 = Degraffi, *Inscr. Ital.* XIII 1, p. 274) give *M. Drusus* and the *fasti Bioniani* (*CIL* I<sup>2</sup> p. 65 = *Inscr. Ital.* XIII 1, p. 291) *M. Drusus L.f.* The full name appears only in the index for Dio LIV: *M. Αἰουιος Λ. υἱ. Δρου̐σος Αἰβων*. Two early attempts to explain

Before her father's death, at some point between 46 and early 42, Livia married Ti. Claudius Nero<sup>65</sup>. Livia, then, was probably between fourteen and sixteen years of age at the time of her marriage. The impact of the events of the career of Livia's father on the marriage date is difficult to gauge; perhaps Drusus Claudianus' attempts to sell property in 45 represented an attempt to come up with liquid capital for Livia's dowry in view of a marriage planned for the end of the year. Both father-in-law and son-in-law had benefitted to some degree from their association with Caesar, but following the dictator's death, they both appear to have belonged to that group which modern commentators often term 'Republican'; the marriage of Tiberius and Livia may have reinforced this shift.

Since Drusus Claudianus had been born a Claudius, Livia and Nero were already related when they married. If Drusus Claudianus was a Pulcher by birth, they belonged to the same *gens* but not the same *stirps*. Consequently modern commentators have sometimes been content to call them «kinsmen» or «relatives» without noting that in such circumstances they were at best sixth cousins (see Figures 1 and 3)<sup>66</sup>. The

the nomenclature of the consul of 15 were as follows: BORGHESI, V, p. 301-303, thought that this Drusus Libo was adopted directly by Drusus Claudianus, either through *adrogatio* or *datio in adoptionem*. In this case, Drusus Libo should have taken the praenomen of his adoptive father in his filiation. MOMMSEN, *Eph. Ep.* 1 (1872), p. 146, proposed that a certain L. Livius Drusus had married a Scribonia; his son, M. Livius L.f., kept his cognomen and assumed an agnomen from his mother. The problem with this suggestion is that neither parent is attested. WEINRIB, p. 253-262, solves all of the immediate difficulties: in an act of testamentary adoption Drusus Claudianus adopted a son of L. Scribonius L.f. Libo (*RE* 20, *cos.* 34), who took the testator's *tria nomina* but retained his natural filiation and preserved his natural cognomen as an agnomen. See now BARRETT, p. 14-15.

<sup>65</sup> The *terminus post quem* for Nero's marriage to Livia is 30 January 46, the date of her twelfth birthday. See Gaius, *Inst.* I 10, followed by CORBETT, p. 51, who maintains that the only statutory requirement was that a girl be *viripotens*. TREGGIARI, *Roman Marriage*, p. 39-43, notes that the age of puberty was regularly seen as twelve in the late Republic, an age that became statute under Augustus. Since Nero was in Gaul settling Caesarian veterans in 46 and 45, the effective earliest date is two years subsequent to that in 44 (see Suet., *Tib.* 4.1; BROUGHTON, *MRR* II, p. 300). The birth of their first son, Tiberius, on 16 November 42 provides a *terminus ante quem* of early 42. TREGGIARI, *Roman Marriage*, p. 129 n. 24, notes that Tiberius could have been simply their first surviving child. Accordingly any date between late 45 and early 42 is possible.

<sup>66</sup> SYME, *Roman Revolution*, p. 229, and Calhoon, p. 9, respectively. A complete stemma of the Neronēs cannot be reconstructed, since the history of this branch of the Claudii is unclear after the third century. After Ti. Claudius P.f. Ti.n. Nero (*RE* 249), who held the consulship in 202, the first securely attested Nero is Ti. Claudius Nero (*RE* 252), praetor in Sicily in 167 (see Figures 1 and 3). Under Münzer's conventional stemma of

possibility that Drusus Claudianus was originally a Nero would make them much closer relations, even first cousins<sup>67</sup>. In this case the marriage of Livia and Nero could represent an inheritance strategy necessitated by adoption: if Drusus Claudianus had inherited property from his natural family through his birth father's will, this property would return to the family by his daughter's marriage to a cousin. Nero could regain the usufruct of any Claudian property that was part of Livia's dowry, and property that she received by bequest could be inherited by their children<sup>68</sup>.

The form of their marriage was in all probability *sine manu*, the convention already common in the third and second centuries that seems to have been the standard form in the late Republic<sup>69</sup>. Three types of marriage *cum manu* were also available but not likely: *usus*, *coemptio*, and *confarreatio*<sup>70</sup>; the only advantage that would have been gained from a *manus* marriage was that Livia's property would have become Nero's since an individual *in potestate* did not have any legal possessions separate from the *paterfamilias*. While this possibility initially seems

the Pulchri, Drusus Claudianus was the great-great-great-grandson of P. Claudius Pulcher (RE 304), the brother of the presumed first Nero.

<sup>67</sup> See Figure 3, where it is proposed that Drusus Claudianus could have been either a natural brother of Ti. Claudius Nero (RE 253, *pr.* by 63), and hence the uncle of Livia's first husband, or a son of C. Claudius Nero (RE 247, *pr.* 81?). Cousin marriage, though not common, was allowed. TREGGIARI, *Roman Marriage*, p. 109-110, notes two economic motivations for marriage within a family: 1) the dowry of a comparatively rich woman is kept in the family, and 2) a woman with little or no dowry is not forced into a poor marriage with an outsider (prime examples of the practice are the cousin-marriages of the sisters of Ap. Claudius Pulcher [RE 297]).

<sup>68</sup> On the tenacity of the patrician Claudii and plebeian Claudii Marcelli in holding onto property, see Cic., *de Or.* 1.176.

<sup>69</sup> CORBETT, p. 90-91; POMEROY, p. 222; TREGGIARI, *Roman Marriage*, p. 443; SALLER, p. 196. The decline of *manus* marriage is usually attributed to the increasing wealth of women and the desire of their families to keep their property within their birth families. Practical difficulties in assembling the necessary personnel to perform the ceremony, however, may have been the deciding factor in the late Republic. Marriage *sine manu* required consent of both parties (in this case Nero or his father, if living, and Drusus Claudianus) and a formal *in domum deductio*. It would have left Livia in the *potestas* of her father and thus would have allowed her to become *sui iuris* at his death.

<sup>70</sup> A woman could come into the power of her husband through *usucapio*, which a woman could avoid through a *trinoctium* outside of her husband's home. *Coemptio* — a fictional sale — was a legal formality used largely for fiduciary purposes. The *manus* created by either of these forms was broken by a divorce that emancipated her (TREGGIARI, *Roman Marriage*, p. 28). Ritual *confarreatio* was originally a patrician form of marriage, although plebeians may not have been excluded after the fourth century (CORBETT, p. 75-76).

attractive in view of the property issues raised by Drusus Claudianus' adoption, evidence that Livia owned property and the general trend of free marriage in the period weigh against it. The same objective of consolidating family property would be reached through the birth of male heirs, an end which was not affected by her later divorce from Nero<sup>71</sup>. Furthermore, *confarreatio*, the ritual form which one might expect aristocratic families to favor when they desired to establish a *manus* marriage, was not readily available in this period because of the lack of a *flamen Dialis*<sup>72</sup>.

This marriage soon saw the birth of Livia's first known, surviving son, Tiberius, on 16 November 42<sup>73</sup>. Livia was sixteen at the time, just over two months from her seventeenth birthday, and her father had died only the month before. The child was born in Rome on the Palatine; whether the home there was Nero's or Livia's is uncertain<sup>74</sup>. The Livii

<sup>71</sup> The importance of sons in this regard may be reflected in an anecdote recorded in Plin., *NH* X 154, in which the encyclopedist claims that Livia resorted to the use of chicken eggs during pregnancy to assure that Tiberius would be a boy. As mentioned above, Drusus Claudianus may well have left the bulk of the property that he had inherited from M. Livius Drusus (*RE* 18, tr. pl. 91) to Drusus Libo, who would have inherited most of the Livian property on the condition of carrying on the family name. Any Claudian property that Drusus Claudianus had held from his natural family could have been left to Livia, who, in turn, would leave it to her own Claudian sons by Nero.

<sup>72</sup> Flory's contention, *Abducta Neroni uxor*, p. 347, that «an old-fashioned and older aristocrat like Tiberius Nero might well have preferred the more conservative form of marriage [presumably meaning *confarreatio* here]» seems to be based solely on the fact that Nero came from an old, patrician family. TREGGIARI, *Roman Marriage*, p. 22-23, notes that the lack of a *flamen Dialis* after 87 BC would have caused the custom of *confarreatio* marriage to lapse. After the suicide of L. Cornelius Merula (272, *cos. suff.* 87) this priesthood remained vacant until Augustus appointed a new priest to Jupiter, Ser. Cornelius Cn. f. Cn. n. Lentulus Maluginensis (226), probably in 11 (see HOFFMAN LEWIS, p. 30). Indeed, what little we know about *confarreatio* comes to us because our sources comment on how it was virtually obsolete. For thorough discussions of the practice, see LINDERSKI, *Usu, farre, coemptione*, p. 154-164; *Religious Aspects of the Conflict of the Orders*, p. 542-559; and Addenda, p. 671-673.

<sup>73</sup> For Tiberius, see art. *Claudius*, no. 255, in *RE* III (1899), col. 2778 = GELZER, *Iulius (Tiberius)*, no. 154, col. 478-536; *PIR*<sup>2</sup> C 941. Suetonius provides the day and the year, and the day is supported by the *feriale Cumanum* that lists the *natalis Ti. Caesaris* on the sixteenth day before the kalends of December (Suet., *Tib.* 5; *CIL* X 8375 = *ILS* 108 = Degraffi, *Inscr. Ital.* XIII 2 no. 44, p. 279). The only doubts about the year are provided by Suetonius himself, who notes that some authorities placed the year of Tiberius' birth in 43 and others in 41; the biographer then cites *fastos actaque in publica* to support 42.

<sup>74</sup> Suetonius also mentions, but then dismisses, a report that Tiberius was born in Fundi. If so Livia may have gone into confinement at the home of her mother (if living) or at family property newly hers after the suicide of her father at Philippi in October of that year. SHATZMAN, Table III and n. 24, attributes the home in Rome to Nero solely on the basis of Suet., *Tib.* 5, which states only that Tiberius was born on the Palatine.

had held property there, but the Palatine home of the younger Drusus had been destroyed, and the site was later held by Cicero, Censorinus, and Statilius Sisenna<sup>75</sup>.

If Livia's marriage was *sine manu*, her father's death left her *sui iuris*. She was thus in a position to control her inheritance subject only to the nominal supervision of a *tutor*. Whatever she had already received from her parents as a dowry was technically in the control of her husband; in normal circumstances any legacy left to her by Drusus Claudianus' will could have made her, at the age of sixteen, a wealthy woman. Her father's proscription, however, may well have excluded Livia from her inheritance, perhaps explaining some of her later actions — including her divorce from Nero and subsequent marriage to Octavian<sup>76</sup>.

#### LIVIA AND THE SCRIBONII

The political alignment of Nero at the time of his marriage to Livia is ambiguous. Although he had been a supporter of Caesar, after the dictator's assassination he favored a motion honoring the murderers<sup>77</sup>. This change may have been due partly to his father-in-law's position, but Nero nevertheless did not accompany Drusus Claudianus to Philippi. In 42, the same year that Tiberius was born, Nero was probably a praetor; Velleius notes that he was a *praetorius* by 40 and Suetonius maintains that he was praetor the year before the Perusine War in 41<sup>78</sup>. If so, Nero held office in Rome under the triumvirs the same year that his father-in-law was fighting on the side of the Republicans. This possible split need not necessarily indicate a personal rift between the two men since some Roman families seem to have taken the precaution of having relatives on both sides of civil wars.

In 41 Nero retained the insignia of his praetorship after his year in office expired. Suetonius attributes this irregular extension of office to a

<sup>75</sup> Vell. II 14.3; see also Cic., *Mil.* 16, *Nat. D.* III 80.

<sup>76</sup> Regarding her possible legacy from Drusus Claudianus, SALLER, p. 202, has pointed out that due to the relative instability of marriages in the first century, the best strategy for a *paterfamilias* who wished his estate to reach his own descendants was to transmit the bulk of his daughter's share into her *dominium* as a bequest in his will rather than as part of her dowry. Even though much of the dowry was returnable upon divorce, under certain circumstances the husband had the right to retain portions of it.

<sup>77</sup> Suet., *Tib.* 4.

<sup>78</sup> Vell. II 75.1; Suet., *Tib.* 4. BROUGHTON, *MRR* II, p. 359.

dispute that had arisen between the triumvirs themselves<sup>79</sup>. When the conflict between Octavian and L. Antonius came to open blows, Nero declared for L. Antonius and joined him in Perusia. The next year he escaped from Perusia and made his way to Campania, where he instigated a rising among his clients<sup>80</sup>. After Octavian crushed this revolt in Campania, Livia and the infant Tiberius made their way to Nero — *per avia itinerum vitatis militum gladiis uno comitante quo facilius occultaretur fuga*, in the melodramatic words of Velleius (II 75.3). Nero appears to have been proscribed about this time, and the family then fled to Sextus Pompeius in Sicily<sup>81</sup>. Sicily was the destination of many fugitive nobles, but Nero's wife Livia had particular connections with that faction through Livia's adoptive brother, M. Livius Drusus Libo: this Drusus Libo's natural father, L. Scribonius Libo (*RE* 20, *cos.* 34), was also the father-in-law of Sextus Pompeius and either the brother or father of a Scribonia who would soon be Octavian's wife (See Figure 4).<sup>82</sup> This

<sup>79</sup> Suet., *Tib.* 4.

<sup>80</sup> Vell. II 75.1 and 3. The behavior of Velleius' grandfather, C. Velleius, in II 76.1 suggests a close relationship between the Neronians and some Campanians such as the Velleii and the Magii. See SUMNER, *The Truth About Velleius*, p. 257-265.

<sup>81</sup> The only evidence for Nero's proscription is Tac., *Ann.* VI 52, which does not provide the timing or any other details. See HINARD, p. 247 n. 96, 309-310, and 451-452. It is not known whether circumstances compelled Livia and her son to accompany Nero into exile following the Perusine War and the collapse of his attempted uprising in Campania or whether she chose to follow him out of affection or loyalty.

In the upheaval of the recent civil wars, some women had accompanied their husbands in flight; others remained in Rome or elsewhere in Italy in relative safety when their husbands were outlawed, and several examples survive from the proscriptions of 42 in which women actively worked at home on behalf of their fugitive husbands. App., *BC* IV 39-40 recalls the examples of the wives of Acilius, Lentulus, Apuleius, Antius, Rheginus, and Coponius, all men proscribed by Antony, Lepidus, and Octavian in 42. App., *BC* IV 44 and Val. Max. VI 7.2 describe the particular case of Q. Lucretius Vespillo (*cos.* 19) and his wife Turia, whom Mommsen identified with the subjects of *CIL* VI 1527, 31670, 37053 = *ILS* 8393, frequently called the *Laudatio Turiae* (henceforth cited as *Laud. Tur.* and following the edition of WISTRAND, 1976). DURRY, p. 54ff., argues that the identification of neither the husband nor wife can be certain. The germane lines of this *laudatio* include the second column, 2a-11a and 1-19. DURRY, p. 60, has shown that II 2a-10a refers to the time of Caesar's civil wars. II 1-19, on the other hand, refers to the period of 43 BC under discussion and describes the Roman matron's intercession with Lepidus and then Octavian on behalf of her husband. See now WISTRAND, p. 41-49.

<sup>82</sup> See WEINRIB, p. 262. If M. Livius Drusus Libo, Livia's 'adopted' brother, was the natural son of L. Scribonius L. f. Libo (*RE* 20, *cos.* 34), then his birth sister was the wife of Sextus Pompeius. The activities and location of Livia's adoptive brother, Drusus Libo, are completely unknown until his appearance in the fasti as *consul ordinarius* for the year 15. At the time of Livia's flight Drusus Libo could have already been in Sicily, both as

Scribonius Libo not only seems to have looked out for Livia's interests while she was a fugitive, he was also active in bringing about the restoration of her husband Nero.

The testamentary adoption of Drusus Libo suggests that an *amicitia*, both personal and political, had existed between Scribonius Libo and Livia's father, Drusus Claudianus. It is unclear how early this relationship existed. During the civil war between Caesar and Pompey the two men may have had different political loyalties: whereas Drusus Claudianus' affiliation is uncertain, Libo was a known intimate of Pompey<sup>83</sup>. Even after the latter's demise, Scribonius Libo continued and even strengthened his links with the Pompeii, giving his daughter Scribonia (*RE* 31) in marriage to Sextus Pompeius in 44. This connection proved to be a political liability after the establishment of the triumvirate by Antony, Octavian, and Lepidus. While Drusus Claudianus joined Brutus and Cassius, Scribonius Libo, who had been in Italy as late as July of 44, naturally joined his son-in-law Sextus Pompeius in Sicily.<sup>84</sup>

While continually loyal to his son-in-law, the activities of Scribonius Libo indicate that he was an astute politician, willing to make diplomatic moves towards the opposition whenever an opportunity arose. In 40 he conveyed Antony's mother from Sicily to the latter's headquarters in Athens and took the opportunity to try to build a coalition between Antony and Sex. Pompeius against Octavian<sup>85</sup>. Nero, Livia, and the baby Tiberius arrived in Sicily sometime before Libo's mission to Antony in Athens; when Libo, accompanied by C. Sentius Saturninus Vetulo, left

one who was a Scribonius by birth and as one who had accepted the name and bequest of a man who had fought against Octavian and Antony at Philippi.

Suet., *Tib.* 6.3 recounts the gifts that Sextus Pompeius' sister gave the infant Tiberius while the family was in Sicily as refugees. Scholarly consensus has long followed App., *BC* V 53.222 and Dio XLVIII 16.3 in accepting that this Scribonia was the sister or half-sister of L. Scribonius Libo (*RE* 20, *cos.* 34). SCHEID, p. 349-375, following a more strict interpretation of the term *amita* in Sen., *Ep.* 70.10 and Tac., *Ann.* II 27.2, suggests that she may have actually been the daughter of Scribonius Libo (*RE* 20). See also the discussion of FANTHAM, p. 17, and HUNTSMAN, Appendix 1, Tables D-1 and D-2, p. 263-266, for a more detailed discussion of the problem and Table D-3, p. 265, for a possible harmonization of the sources.

<sup>83</sup> See Cic., *Fam.* 1.1.3. Libo was still friendly with Caesar and tried to mediate between the two, but when his attempts at mediation (Caes., *BC* I 26.3-5, II 15-18) failed he fought actively on Pompey's side. Following Bibulus' death, Scribonius Libo commanded one of Pompey's fleets (Plut., *Ant.* 7.3; Dio XLI 48.1).

<sup>84</sup> Cic., *Att.* XVI 4.1f, *Fam.* XI 7.1.

<sup>85</sup> App., *BC* V 52.



Sicily to escort Antony's mother, Iulia (*RE* 543), to Athens, Nero and his family joined their company<sup>86</sup>. He then left his family in Greece, where they had connections in Lacedaemonia, while he presumably served with Antony<sup>87</sup>. In the same year Scribonius Libo also responded to conciliatory moves by Octavian, who felt isolated because of the Perusine War; although an alliance between Octavian and Sex. Pompeius never materialized, Octavian proceeded to marry Libo's sister, Scribonia (*RE* 32), creating a tie between Libo and the young triumvir<sup>88</sup>.

Scribonius Libo was also a major participant in the negotiations that finally allowed Nero to bring his family back to Italy<sup>89</sup>. During the discussions that Octavian and Antony held with Sex. Pompeius at Misenum in the early summer of 39, Libo sat at his son-in-law's side on the mole that faced the two triumvirs seated on an adjacent pier<sup>90</sup>. Father-in-law of Sex. Pompeius and now the brother-in-law of Octavian, Scribonius Libo had family connections with both sides that undoubtedly aided the negotiations<sup>91</sup>. As part of the agreement reached at this conference, Scribonius Libo was designated for the consulship of 34, which he held

<sup>86</sup> App., *BC* V 52; Dio XLVIII 15.2-3. Suet., *Tib.* 4, maintains that Nero then went east to join Mark Antony after disagreeing with Sextus Pompeius. LEVICK, p. 14, suggests that Octavian's tentative moves towards Sextus Pompeius after the Perusine War (App., *BC* V 53; Dio XLVIII 16.3) prompted Nero to move his family to the East, where they sought Antony's protection. Nevertheless, Nero arrived in Greece with L. Scribonius L. f. Libo (*RE* 20, *cos.* 34) and other envoys of Sextus Pompeius (App., *BC* V 52; cf. Dio XLVIII 15.2-3 and 16.2). The negotiations of the Pompeian representatives with Antony, and hence Nero's arrival in Greece, occurred *before* Octavian made a gesture towards Pompeius by seeking a marriage with Scribonia.

<sup>87</sup> Suet., *Tib.* 6; Dio LIV 7.2. The Claudii Neronēs could have gained clients in the Aegean during their activity there in the first half of the second century. See BOWERSOCK, p. 176-177 and 186 n. 39, for the connections of Tiberius to the Lacedaemonian C. Iulius Auricles. The Livii, too, seem to have had some connection with Lacedaemonia as witnessed by an otherwise unknown Decius or Decimus Livius who left a dedication at the Laconian port of Gytheum (*CIL* I<sup>2</sup> 2650 = *ILLRP* 962). Presumably he was a client of one of the more prominent Livii.

<sup>88</sup> Regarding Libo's eagerness for the match, see HADAS, p. 87, and FANTHAM, p. 20-21.

<sup>89</sup> The first negotiations were begun through Libo's relatives who were still in Rome (App., *BC* V 69).

<sup>90</sup> App., *BC* V 71. For the dating of the treaty of Misenum to early summer, see GABBA, p. 118-119.

<sup>91</sup> See App., *BC* V 73. These ties were strengthened with the short-lived engagement of Scribonius Libo's niece Pompeia (*RE* 55) to Augustus' young nephew M. Claudius Marcellus (*RE* 230) in the same year.



despite the subsequent collapse of his son-in-law's fortunes<sup>92</sup>. The pact struck at Misenum also permitted all exiles, including Nero and his family, to return to Rome<sup>93</sup>.

#### LIVIA'S MARRIAGE TO OCTAVIAN

Although they were scions of reputable Republican families, Nero and Livia's status as former exiles was dependent upon the terms of the Treaty of Misenum. Consequently, upon their return to Rome they may have appreciated the added security afforded by their connection to Octavian's wife, Scribonia (*RE* 32)<sup>94</sup>. The family could have returned to the same house on the Palatine where Tiberius had been born, which would have been close to Octavian's, also on the Palatine. Perhaps this proximity, along with Livia's pregnancy, provided for later rumors regarding her subsequent divorce and marriage to Octavian<sup>95</sup>. According to Tacitus, *nec domesticis abstinebatur: abducta Neroni uxor et consulti per ludibrium pontifices an concepto necdum edito partu rite nuberet*<sup>96</sup>.

Only a few months elapsed between the return of Livia in the summer or early fall of 39<sup>97</sup> and her subsequent marriage to Octavian on 17 January 38. Shortly thereafter the shaky peace with Sex. Pompeius collapsed, and Octavian launched a substantial naval attack on Sex. Pompeius' base in Sicily.<sup>98</sup> This invasion failed completely, and Octavian was not able to rebuild his forces sufficiently for another attempt until 36, but the changing political situation in the months leading up to Livia's second marriage helps explain why Octavian felt confident in attacking Sex. Pompeius so soon after the agreement at Misenum.

<sup>92</sup> Although Libo found himself ranged against Octavian again during the latter's offensives against Sextus Pompeius in 38 and 36 and joined his son-in-law after Naulochus in a flight to Asia, his political adaptability saved him. After joining Antony in the East, he later returned to Rome to hold his designated consulship.

<sup>93</sup> Vell. II 77.3. See HINARD, p. 253-255.

<sup>94</sup> For the 'sisterly' relationship between Livia and Scribonia, see BUSH, p. 5.

<sup>95</sup> Such rumors, although they may have originated in late 39 and early 38, were probably preserved by and entered the ancient sources through the propaganda of Antony.

<sup>96</sup> Tac., *Ann.* I 10.

<sup>97</sup> FLORY, *Abducta Neroni Uxor*, p. 344.

<sup>98</sup> Octavian claimed that Sextus Pompeius was still engaged in piracy and that the city had not been freed from famine by the promised lifting of Pompeius' naval blockade (App., *BC* V 77). Subsequently the defection of Pompeius' freedman Menas, the fleet commander who delivered Sardinia and Corsica to Octavian, led to open hostilities.

Octavian divorced Scribonia on the day that their daughter, Iulia, was born. Interestingly there is not evidence of antagonistic relations between Scribonia and Livia, the new wife. He asserted his divorce of Scribonia was due to her shrewish behavior, but it also reflected public severing of ties with Sex. Pompeius' ally, Libo, prior to the invasion of Sicily<sup>99</sup>. Octavian felt that his forces were ready for a major engagement, but there was an additional difference between his political situation in 38 and that in 40 — in the year following the Perusine War many important Republican families were in exile with Sex. Pompeius, but in the year following Misenum most of these had returned to Italy.

Ferrero was one of the first modern authors to propose that Octavian needed the marriage to Livia in order to gain acceptance with the old Roman nobility. Despite Octavian's posthumous adoption by Julius Caesar, many of the nobility saw him as an upstart from a largely unknown municipal family, and since 42 his career had been one of a revolutionary. In the view of Ferrero, a tie with a scion of the Livii and the Claudii could give him some legitimacy with these and other illustrious families, and according to Bartman it «gained crucial support of an aristocratic faction for her husband, an outsider to their closed social sphere.»<sup>100</sup>

This may be overstating the case somewhat. While not as prominent, the Scribonii, Octavian's previous in-laws, were not unknown: they were at the time a respectable and politically active noble family with ties to the Pompeii. The real difference was that the Pompeii were now the hereditary enemies of Caesar's heir, while the families represented by the Livii and the Claudii, many of whom were at that time back in Rome, were potential allies<sup>101</sup>. According to Syme, Octavian's party «now began to attract ambitious aristocrats, among the earliest of whom may fairly be reckoned a Claudian of the other branch, Ap. Claudius Pulcher [RE 298, *cos.* 38], one of the consuls of the year».<sup>102</sup>

<sup>99</sup> Suet., *Aug.* 62.2; Dio XLVIII 34.3; Macrobi., *Sat.* II 5.2. See also LEVICK, p. 15.

<sup>100</sup> FERRERO, p. 54-55, compares this marriage to that of Napoleon to the Hapsburg Marie Louise. BARRETT, p. 22, writes, «the connection with Livius Drusus would resonate throughout Italy and help strengthen Octavian's power base». See also SIRAGO, p. 177-179; PERKOUNIG, p. 44-45; BARTMAN, p. 57-58; BURNS, p. 7. Tacitus' obituary of Livia, *Ann.* V 1, stresses the status imputed by her ancestry: *nobilitatis per Claudiam familiam et adoptione Liviorum Iuliorumque clarissimae*. This noble background contrasts with the canards from Antony's propaganda about Octavian's own ancestry that persisted and entered Suetonius' biography of Augustus (see SCOTT, p. 12-14).

<sup>101</sup> See the summary by CARTER, p. 182-183.

<sup>102</sup> SYME, *Roman Revolution*, p. 229.

Two unsolved problems remain regarding the marriage of Octavian to Livia, who was, by some readings of the sources, six months pregnant. One difficulty is the role that Nero, Livia's first husband, played in the match. Most of the ancient sources assert that Nero willingly gave up his wife; Tacitus and on one occasion Suetonius suggest that Octavian forcibly took Livia from him, but this version may well be the result of Antonian propaganda against Octavian<sup>103</sup>. Nero may have seen the surrendering of his wife as a political act, a way of securing Octavian's favor and guaranteeing his family's security in Italy<sup>104</sup>. The marriage of Octavian and Livia thus was politically advantageous for both parties.

The form of Livia and Nero's marriage has some bearing upon Nero's attitude towards his wife's subsequent union with Octavian. In a *manus* marriage, a wife in her husband's power was not free to initiate divorce<sup>105</sup>. Accordingly, only Nero could have decided to divorce his wife and thereby free her for a new marriage. Octavian could not legally compel him to do so, although he could have exerted considerable pressure on Nero. Flory has argued that Livia had been *in manu*, noting that in the sources Nero «gives Livia away» in marriage as if he were her father. This, she maintains, suggests that Livia was in the position of a *filiafamilias*. Nero's consent, indeed his active role, in Livia's marriage thus illustrates friendly ties between him and Octavian<sup>106</sup>. Giving up one's wife in marriage to a friend or potential friend was not unprecedented: Cato, when he divorced his wife Marcia, then joined with her father in espousing her to his friend Hortensius<sup>107</sup>.

Flory is likely correct that Nero sought and obtained the *amicitia* of Octavian by cooperating in the latter's marriage to Livia, but she is probably mistaken about the legal form of Livia's first marriage. As we have seen, there is no evidence that Livia's marriage was anything but the *sine manu* form common in the period<sup>108</sup>. It is more probable that Nero's

<sup>103</sup> For Nero's willingness, see Vell. II 79.2, 94.1; Dio XLVIII 44.3; Plin., *NH* VII 150; Suet., *Aug.* 62.2. For Octavian's supposedly forcible abduction of Livia, see Tac., *Ann.* I 10.5, V 1.2, XII 6.2; Suet., *Tib.* 4.3. On Antonian propaganda, see CHARLESWORTH, p. 177; SCOTT, p. 31 and 40; FLORY, *Abducta Neroni Uxor*, p. 343-359.

<sup>104</sup> FERRERO, p. 56, and more recently SIRAGO, p. 178-179.

<sup>105</sup> CORBETT, p. 180-182; SCHULTZ, p. 117, 135.

<sup>106</sup> FLORY, *Abducta Neroni Uxor*, p. 347.

<sup>107</sup> Plut., *Cato min.* 25.5. Marcia was reportedly pregnant at the time (25.4), making the comparison even more apt. CORBIER, p. 77, asserts that the divorce and remarriage of a woman established an effective alliance between her successive husbands.

<sup>108</sup> See page 00 *supra*.

role at the wedding of 38 was not that of a man giving away a former wife who had been *in loco filiae* but rather that of a nearest male relative functioning as *tutor* of a woman *sui iuris*<sup>109</sup>. Consequently, Livia would have been free to initiate a divorce herself, either because she had actually been having an affair with Octavian as the sources suggest or, more probably, because she saw it as a politically expedient move for herself and her family<sup>110</sup>. In all probability she and Nero made the decision together, regardless of which one formally divorced the other. The purpose of their marriage, rearing a son to inherit the combined properties of their families, had been accomplished with Tiberius and would be vouchsafed with the expected birth of a second male child. In turbulent times an astute political match for Livia could help guarantee her children's future, and she and her family's faction may have seen the marriage to Octavian as insurance against the possibility of future proscriptions<sup>111</sup>.

Property considerations may have encouraged this decision as well. As seen above, at the death of Drusus Claudianus, Livia could have found herself a reasonably wealthy woman, although gaining control over all of her rightful property may have posed a problem. Since her father had been proscribed, his property had been subject to confiscation, and it is not known how much of her entitled inheritance Livia actually obtained<sup>112</sup>. Nero, too, may have suffered losses when the family fled Italy. The surviving terms of the Treaty of Misenum address the issue of restitution only briefly: those who had fled Italy because of fear

<sup>109</sup> This argument strongly supports the suggestion that Livia and Nero were actually first or near cousins. Drusus Libo, her 'brother' by adoption, bore the name *Livius Drusus* but legally retained the status of a Scribonius Libo, leaving her first husband, Nero, as the closest agnatic relation. This does not necessarily mean that Livia's marriage to Octavian broke all ties between her and the Scribonii Libones, as the later career of Libo suggests. Likewise, the consulship of Drusus Libo in 15 BC and Livia's surprisingly good relationship with her step-daughter do not indicate hostility between the families. Although Libo's direct links with Octavian were broken when the latter divorced Scribonia Caesaris and went to war with Sextus Pompeius, he maintained his options by accepting, if not actually encouraging, Octavian's subsequent marriage to a woman who was herself connected with the Libones.

<sup>110</sup> RAWSON, *The Roman Family*, p. 33.

<sup>111</sup> See SIRAGO, p. 177-181, and BARTMAN, p. 57.

<sup>112</sup> Dio XLVIII 44.1 on Drusus Claudianus' proscription. Her dowry, transferred to Nero perhaps as early as 45 was probably secure. See also HINARD, p. 219-223, on the situation faced by the descendants of the proscribed. Before the outbreak of the Perusine War, Octavian, in an attempt to placate the upper classes, tried to avoid touching the dowries of Roman matrons in the confiscations levied to pay the veterans (Dio XLVIII 8.5).

were to have all of their immovable property restored, while those who had been proscribed should recover one-fourth<sup>113</sup>. One of the agreements made with Octavian before the marriage may thus have included restoring the rest of the property lost by Livia and Nero<sup>114</sup>. In this case, the issue of family property and providing for the future of Tiberius and their unborn child may have been major factors in the decision to accept the proposal of Octavian<sup>115</sup>.

The second problem associated with Livia's marriage to Octavian revolves around the birth date of her second son, Decimus Claudius Nero, whose name was changed to Nero Claudius Drusus, apparently to emphasize the maternity of the boy by recalling the adoptive family of his mother<sup>116</sup>. This son, hereafter referred to simply as Drusus, was born in 38<sup>117</sup>. Since the major literary sources all maintain that Octavian married Livia while she was pregnant, it was previously thought that Drusus was born sometime between March and July of 38<sup>118</sup>. According to Suetonius, however, Drusus' birthday was the same day as Antony's, which the *fasti Verulani*, a calendar discovered in 1922, sets on 14 January<sup>119</sup>. This would have placed Drusus' conception sometime in March or April of the previous year, 39<sup>120</sup>, probably before the Misenum pact was struck in early summer. This date effectively eliminates doubts regarding Drusus' paternity since Livia had been in Greece with her husband in the spring of 39<sup>121</sup>.

<sup>113</sup> App., *BC* V 72; Dio XLVIII 36.4; HINARD, p. 253-255. Sextus Pompeius alone received seventy million sesterces from his father's estate.

<sup>114</sup> Octavian was known to provide for his family by assigning to them property which he could have confiscated for himself. For instance, he assigned some of Antony's estates to the latter's children, notably to Antonia Minor (Dio LI 15.7; see KOKKINOS, p. 11).

<sup>115</sup> Nero should have returned Livia's dowry upon their divorce, but he had the right to claim *retentiones* from the dowry, up to one-sixth for the support of each of his sons (TREGGIARI, *Roman Marriage*, p. 338-339, 352-353, and 467). It is uncertain whether Nero would have pressed his claim and withheld a third of Livia's dowry in the face of Octavian's position.

<sup>116</sup> See SYME, *Imperator Caesar*, p. 174.

<sup>117</sup> Dio XLVIII 44.

<sup>118</sup> Vell. II 95.1; Tac., *Ann.* V 1; Suet., *Aug.* 62.2, *Claud.* 1.1; Dio XLVIII 34, 44. See GARDTHAUSEN, I 2, p. 1021 and II 2, p. 634 n. 14; see also OLLENDORF, *Livius (Livia)*, no. 37, col. 902-903, and STEIN, art. *Claudius*, no. 139, in *RE* III (1899), col. 2706.

<sup>119</sup> Suet., *Claud.* 11.3 and Dio LX 5.1. For the *fasti Verulani* see G. RADKE, art. *Verulae*, in *RE* VIII A 2 (1958), col. 1688; for Antony's *dies natalis*, see DEGRASSI, *Inscr. Ital.* XIII 2, p. 158-159. The dating of Drusus' birth is discussed by BARRETT, p. 23-26, and FANTHAM, p. 22.

<sup>120</sup> BARRETT, p. 27.

<sup>121</sup> Suet., *Claud.* 1.

Nevertheless a birth date for Drusus on 14 January presents a chronological crux since the date of Livia's second marriage was known to have been three days later on 17 January. These two dates cannot be easily reconciled with the literary evidence. Radke has gone so far as to try to unravel the problem by suggesting that 14 January was Antony's birth date in a pre-Julian calendar; hence the date would have been different after the dictator's reforms in 46. This suggestion, however, does not explain why the older date appears in the later *fasti*<sup>122</sup>. Carcopino's proposal that there was a formal betrothal in September with a marriage following Livia's delivery in January remains the most convincing<sup>123</sup>.

Tacitus and Dio both assert that Octavian sought a special pontifical dispensation for his 'marriage' to a pregnant woman, even though such a marriage was not without precedent<sup>124</sup>. The details of the response that came from the *pontifices* is not recorded<sup>125</sup>, but it is possible that they approved a legal *sponsio* while suggesting that the marriage not be formalized until the baby was born. If this were the case, Octavian decided to marry Livia soon after his *depositio barbae* in late September, and

<sup>122</sup> RADKE, *Geburstag des älteren Drusus*, p. 211-213, followed by FLORY, *Abducta Neroni Uxor*, p. 348 n. 13. Contrast this use of the earlier date with Livia's own birthday: the pre-Julian date for Livia's birth date was later consistently ignored in favor of a new day under the revised calendar.

<sup>123</sup> CARCOPINO, p. 234-236, developed further by SUERBAUM, p. 346-353. The prevalence of Livia's pregnancy in the sources seems to have resulted from the later, bitter triumviral propaganda that emphasized the motif of a tyrant who stole another man's wife, in this case a crime emphasized by her pregnancy.

<sup>124</sup> Pompey the Great's marriage to Aemilia, daughter of Metella and Aemilius Scaurus, took place even though the bride was pregnant (Plut., *Pomp.* 9). Cf. the case of Marcia, note 107 *supra*.

<sup>125</sup> Tac., *Ann.* V 1.2; Dio XLVIII 34. The significance of this pontifical dispensation is unclear. It was more likely to have been for public relations' purposes to preclude any negative propaganda, such as that which actually ensued, than for religious reasons. The possibility that it constituted part of the dissolution of Livia's first marriage — say as part of the rite of *disfarreatio* — is slim, especially since the marriage of Nero and Livia was almost certainly not *in manu* (see page 00 *supra*). In the only clear description of *disfarreatio*, the divorce of the *flamen Dialis* in the time of Domitian, priests were involved (Plut., *RQ* 50). These priests were presumably the same ones required to contract a marriage by *confarreatio* (namely the *flamen Dialis* himself and the pontifex maximus), but in late 39 and early 38 there was no *flamen Dialis* and the pontifex maximus, M. Aemilius M.f. Q.n. Lepidus (*RE* 73, *cos.* 46), was in Africa. Whatever the nature and purpose of the pontifical dispensation, it would not have been difficult for Octavian to obtain. Of the seven *pontifices* identified for the period by HOFFMAN LEWIS, p. 28-29, only Nero, Octavian, and perhaps P. Sulpicius Rufus could have been in Rome at the time. Any of the remaining eight members of the college who might have been in the capital were likely to have been Caesarians and would have been well-disposed to any request made by Octavian and Nero (see SUERBAUM, p. 343 n. 36; PERKOUNIG, p. 47).

Nero and Livia agreed to the proposal. Six months pregnant, Livia was formally betrothed to Octavian with the agreement of Nero, who acted in the position of her *tutor*. There is no doubt that Octavian was already planning an attack on Sicily in January, and the political advantages that he gained on the eve of an unpopular war help explain his betrothal to Livia earlier in the fall and their subsequent marriage<sup>126</sup>.

#### SOME RESULTS OF LIVIA'S MARRIAGE

The amicable nature of Livia's divorce from Nero and her subsequent marriage to Octavian can be seen in Nero's subsequent association with Octavian. Suetonius cites portions of a harsh letter in which Antony censured Octavian for a banquet that took place during a famine in Rome<sup>127</sup>. According to the charge made by Antony, the dinner party guests came dressed as the twelve Olympian gods; the entertainment consisted of *adulteria nova*, presumably role-playing of the affairs of the gods with combinations of divine couples not known in traditional myth. Suetonius does not elaborate, although much has been made of the significance of the statement. For instance, Octavian apparently came in the guise of Apollo, a role that seems appropriate in retrospect because of his later choice of Apollo as his patron but which, according to Antony, led the hungry people started calling him *Apollinem Tortorem* following the banquet<sup>128</sup>. No evidence indicates what roles the other guests assumed, although Flory proposes that one *adulterium novum* could have been the theft of Jupiter's wife by Apollo, a suggestion that supports her idea that Nero and Livia were at the party in the guises of Jupiter and Juno<sup>129</sup>. This would recommend a date for the banquet in either late 39 or early 38, dates which could make the banquet either the betrothal party or the wedding party at which Nero «gave away» his wife to Octavian<sup>130</sup>.

<sup>126</sup> Vell. II 79.2. See FLORY, *Abducta Neroni Uxor*, p. 345-346.

<sup>127</sup> Suet., *Aug.* 70; for the nature of the letter, 70.1: *epistulae ... amarissime exprobrant*.

<sup>128</sup> Suet., *Aug.* 70.2.

<sup>129</sup> FLORY, *Abducta Neroni Uxor*, p. 356. Cf. BAUMAN, *Women and Politics*, p. 95.

<sup>130</sup> See Dio XLVIII 44.3. CARCOPINO, *Passion et politique*, p. 74 and SCOTT, p. 39-40. Carcopino and Scott, followed to some extent by FLORY, *Abducta Neroni Uxor*, p. 352-353, link this *cena* with the *convivium* also mentioned by Suetonius in section 69. At the *convivium*, Octavian supposedly sexually assaulted the wife of an unnamed consular whom Carcopino, Scott, and Flory would like to identify as Nero. SUERBAUM, p. 339 n. 30, rightly rejects the connection of the two, particularly noting that Nero never reached the consulship.



While there were grain shortages in both 39 and 38 due to the blockade of Sextus Pompeius, any date before 32 is possible for this banquet<sup>131</sup>. The most probable year for the event is actually 36: Appian notes that in the year of the final struggle with Sextus Pompeius there was a severe famine and consequent rioting<sup>132</sup>. Furthermore, Bauman notes that in 36 Octavian received the honor of having an annual banquet in the temple of Capitoline Jupiter, a privilege that explains well the final words of an epigram about the party quoted by Suetonius in which *fugit et auratos Iuppiter ipse thronos*<sup>133</sup>. If the 36 date is correct for the banquet, it does not necessarily disprove Flory's suggestion that the theft of Juno was a convivial jest recalling Octavian's marriage; in fact, it may suggest that the *amicitia* established by the marriage between Octavian and Nero in 39 was still functioning and that Nero, whom some have suggested faded into obscurity after he divorced his wife, was still in Octavian's social circle.

If Nero had been part of Octavian's circle at the banquet held in 36 at which Octavian and his friends had parodied the gods, then the career of Nero subsequent to his divorce from Livia is not quite as obscure as has generally been supposed. Levick, for example, has suggested that «the surrender of his wife brought Nero no advancement of which we know. The consulship eluded him, generous though the Triumvirs were to their partisans.»<sup>134</sup> The argument that his career must have ended prematurely simply because he did not obtain the consulship is without merit. Before Nero's alliance with Octavian — demonstrated by his willing divorce of Livia — the triumvirs had already designated consuls for several years in advance, and these arrangements did not leave any openings in the top magistracy. For instance, Sextus Pompeius was supposed to have held the consulship with Octavian in 33, the very year that Nero died. In other words, Nero did not live long enough for Octavian to use his influence to help Nero reach that office when an undesignated magistracy finally became available.

Appian lists a certain «Hiero» along with Agrippa as one of Octavian's commanders in the Illyrian War in 35<sup>135</sup>. The improbability that a man

<sup>131</sup> CARTER, p. 191.

<sup>132</sup> App., *BC* V 67–68.

<sup>133</sup> Regarding the Capitoline banquet see Dio XLIX 15.1; BAUMAN, *Women and Politics*, p. 95–96, where he also notes that Octavian began to make extensive use of Apollo as his personal patron.

<sup>134</sup> LEVICK, p. 15.

<sup>135</sup> App., *Ill.* 20.



with a patently Greek name was serving as a Roman commander in Octavian's forces suggests that a textual corruption has occurred: Ἰέρων may have originally been written Νέρων<sup>136</sup>. This could suggest that Nero, who had fought ably under Julius Caesar and vainly in the Perusine War, continued his military career after he switched his allegiance to Octavian. Since he appears to have been a friend of Octavian as late as 36, it is not surprising to see him serving as a legate of the triumvir in 35. By 33, however, Nero was dead.<sup>137</sup> He left his children, Tiberius and Drusus, to the protection of Octavian, who became their *tutor*, thereby bringing them into his own home and back into Livia's care<sup>138</sup>. Their property, presumably left to them as part of Nero's will, would have been managed by Octavian as their *tutor* as long as they were minors. It is not impossible, given the amicable nature of the divorce and the friendly relations that he had maintained with Octavian and Livia, that he left his former wife some legacy as well. Tiberius delivered the *laudatio* at Nero's funeral, and later he produced lavish games for both his father and his grandfather Drusus Claudianus, the cost of which was covered by Octavian and Livia<sup>139</sup>. Octavian thus assisted Livia in honoring her two most important pre-Octavian connections. Subsequently her sons benefitted from their relationship with their new stepfather, who introduced them to public life and granted them accelerated careers and other imperial favors<sup>140</sup>.

#### SUBSEQUENT ADVANCEMENT OF ALLIES AND CLIENTS

Sirago in particular has interpreted Livia's marriage to Octavian as an act of self-preservation on the part of the entire aristocracy: Livia, in her

<sup>136</sup> MÜNZER, *Hiero*, no. 19, col. 1515.

<sup>137</sup> Suet., *Tib.* 6.4 states that Tiberius was nine when his father died.

<sup>138</sup> Dio XLVIII 44.5: ἐπίτροπον καὶ Τιβερίῳ καὶ αὐτὸν [Drusus] τὸν Καίσαρα.

<sup>139</sup> Suet., *Tib.* 7. The inclusion of Drusus Claudianus is significant: Livia, who now had considerable status as the wife of a triumvir, had received a series of honors in 35, one of which included an exemption from *tutela*. See BAUMAN, *Tribunician Sacrosanctity*, p. 176-176, and *Women and Politics*, p. 96-97; SCARDIGLI, p. 61-64; FLORY, *Livia and the History of Public Honorific Statues*, p. 287-308; and HUNTSMAN, p. 78-80. The exemption from *tutela* allowed her to manage her property and wealth without a guardian. Consequently, after 35 BC she had free access to considerable wealth and seems to have used it to honor her father, who had taken his life in 42 after unsuccessfully fighting her new husband at Philippi.

<sup>140</sup> See HUNTSMAN, p. 108-120, for a full discussion of the careers of Tiberius and Drusus up to AD 14 under Augustan patronage.

position as wife of one of the triumvirs, was henceforth to work in behalf of the established families of the Republican aristocracy<sup>141</sup>. There is no need, however, to see in the actions of Nero and Livia anything but an attempt to further the interests of their immediate families and their clients. Beyond Livia's own security and the improved prospects of her sons, the connections who benefitted from her marriage to Octavian were numerous. In return for the earlier protection that Scribonia may have afforded Livia and Nero as newly repatriated exiles, Livia may have extended her influence in favor of Scribonia and her family after the latter's divorce. Scribonia's own position in Rome remained secure throughout her life<sup>142</sup>, and Livia's relations with Scribonia's daughter, Iulia, seem to have been good, even after the latter's exile in 2 BC<sup>143</sup>. The record of office holders gives some indication that Livia's relatives and clients were favored even when they had previously been arrayed against Octavian. As previously mentioned, Scribonius Libo was allowed to hold his designated consulship in 34 and subsequently remain in Octavian's favor, despite the hostilities between his son-in-law Sextus Pompeius and

<sup>141</sup> SIRAGO, p. 181.

<sup>142</sup> Scribonia's name appears in some inscriptions as *Scribonia Caesaris* (e.g., *CIL* VI 7467, 26032, 26033, and 31276 = *ILS* 126, 7429, 8892), which may have been carved in 38 BC after her divorce from Octavian (see LEON, p. 168-175), suggesting that relations between Octavian and Scribonia may not have been as bad as Suetonius would suggest.

<sup>143</sup> Livia's relationship with her daughter-in-law Iulia is clouded by ancient and modern preconceptions, especially since Livia entered this relationship as a stepmother. Augustus had divorced Scribonia on the day of Iulia's birth, and because children belonged to their father, Iulia would not have remained in Scribonia's custody. Consequently, Livia, as Iulia's stepmother, would have almost immediately begun the strict upbringing that Augustus demanded of his daughter (Suet., *Aug.* 64.2). Some have found hints about the private relationship between Livia and Iulia in a collection of anecdotes provided by Macrobius, but at most these stories indicate differences in personal style, matters of dress, association, and economy (Macr., *Sat.* II 5.1-9). For a discussion of the context and content of these anecdotes, see RICHLIN, p. 65, 70-74. See also BAUMAN, *Women and Politics*, p. 110-111, who sees these as furnishing evidence of ill-feeling between the two, and BURNS, p. 11. It has been suggested that Livia was actually behind Iulia's fall and that she had taken advantage of Iulia's infidelities in order to revive Tiberius' career, which had suffered while he was on Rhodes. This view, however, seems to stem from an uncritical acceptance of the model of the scheming *noverca* and the hostile *socrus* (BURY, p. 591-637; GARDTHAUSEN, I, p. 1101; BAUMAN, *Women and Politics*, p. 126). WILLRICH, p. 24, has noted that no ancient evidence points to Livia's involvement in the affairs of 2 BC, and we are left uninformed as to Livia's immediate reaction to Iulia's fall. More telling is the evidence that Livia supported Iulia during her exile in Pandateria and Rhenium (Suet., *Aug.* 65.3; Tac., *Ann.* I 53; TURANO, p. 76-81 = *AE* 1975 [1978], 289 = LINDERSKI, *Iulia in Regium*, p. 181). For a full discussion, see HUNTSMAN, p. 123-128, and the slightly more negative view of FANTHAM, p. 89-91.

Octavian<sup>144</sup>. Livia's adoptive brother, Drusus Libo, held the consulship in 15, and his family remained prominent until one of his sons became involved in a conspiracy against Tiberius in AD 16. This son was M. Scribonius Libo Drusus, whose use of the cognomen *Drusus* emphasized his connection with Livia's family<sup>145</sup>. Indeed, Firmius Catus persuaded him to join the plot by appealing to his notable ancestors and connections, but with Libo Drusus' suicide, the use of *Drusus* was forbidden and the connection with the Scribonii Libones and Livia terminated<sup>146</sup>.

At least two others with ties to Livia through Drusus Libo held the consulship during Augustus' reign. C. Sentius C.f. C.n. Saturninus (*RE* 9), whose aunt was married to Scribonius Libo, was Drusus Libo's first cousin (see Figure 5). His father was probably C. Sentius C.f. Saturninus Vetulo, who had accompanied Livia's family to Greece when they fled Italy in 40<sup>147</sup>. Despite the family's relative obscurity and its earlier

<sup>144</sup> See page 00 *supra*. Scribonius Libo served out the year of his consulship while Antony, his first colleague, was in the East. Libo did not rejoin Antony and managed to retain Octavian's favor, apparently being admitted to a priestly college by 31 (unless *CIL* XIV 2502 refers to the consul of AD 16) and becoming a patrician in 29 (BROUGHTON, *MRR* II, p. 428).

<sup>145</sup> WEINRIB, p. 249-250, made the Scribonii of AD 16 sons of Magna and a postulated L. Scribonius Libo, thus fulfilling the requirements of Tac., *Ann.* II 27.2 that they be nephews or great nephews of Scribonia (*RE* 32) and great-grandsons of Pompey the Great. He then suggests that no. 23 took the agnomen *Drusus* to honor his uncle, M. Livius Drusus Libo, who had himself received it through testamentary adoption. SCHEID, p. 357-368, rejects Weinrib's reconstruction and makes the magistrates of AD 16 the sons of Drusus Libo (*RE* 20). To accomplish this he first assumes that the filiation of no. 21 in Dio's index is in error, an understandable mistake inasmuch as most known Scribonii bore the praenomen *Lucius*. Second, he submits that Drusus Libo's use of the name *M. Livius Drusus* was inconsistent, particularly up to the year 38 when Livia married Octavian and the name was thus returned to favor. A more pertinent argument, perhaps, would be that testamentary adoption did not affect legal standing; consequently the children of one thus adopted would not necessarily take the *nomen gentilicium* of the adopter, although the cognomen could be continued by its bestowal upon one or more of the adoptee's children.

<sup>146</sup> Tac., *Ann.* II 27-32. See FLOWER, p. 247. This banning of a family's cognomen is not one of the penalties usually associated with the collection of punishments that we term *damnatio memoriae*. Usually the family was henceforth barred from using the praenomen of the convicted criminal. In this case, however, the Scribonii seem to have been forbidden to continue to capitalize on their family connection to Livia through her adoptive brother Drusus Libo (*RE* 20).

<sup>147</sup> App., *BC* V 52; Dio XLVIII 15.2-3. After Livia's first husband, Nero, aided Antony's brother in the Perusine War, he fled with Livia and the baby Tiberius to Sicily. When Scribonius Libo, accompanied by C. Sentius Saturninus Vetulo, left Sicily to escort Antony's mother, Iulia (*RE* 543), to Athens, Nero and his family joined their company. Nero may have always intended to join Antony, but it is significant that the father of Livia's newly adopted brother, Libo Drusus, was the one who afforded the family safe passage.

opposition to Octavian, the Sentii obtained high office after Octavian had become Augustus. Perhaps with the support of Livia, in 19 Sentius Saturninus (*RE* 9) ennobled his family by becoming the first of his line to hold the consulship, and in AD 4 he was followed in that office by his sons, C. Sentius and Cn. Sentius.

Another figure with connections to Livia through the Scribonii was Cn. Cornelius Cinna (*RE* 108, *cos. suff.* AD 5)<sup>148</sup>. Although a patrician from a prominent, consular family, his consulship had been much delayed: he was over fifty when he finally held this office<sup>149</sup>. Cinna reportedly conspired against Augustus, either between 16 and 13 BC or in AD 4<sup>150</sup>. When Cinna's plot was discovered, he was brought before Augustus, who then asked Livia what he should do with the conspirator. According to these authors, Livia lectured her husband about the value of mercy and encouraged him to pardon Cinna. Augustus followed her advice, accepting Cinna among his friends and later bestowing a consulship upon him. Syme, dismissing the story of Cinna's alleged conspiracy against Augustus, proposed that «Cinna's consulate was probably due, not so much to Augustus, as to the Republican Tiberius, mindful of his Pompeian ties»<sup>151</sup>. There is probably some truth to this observation because Tiberius, following the adoptions of AD 4 and a second grant of *tribunicia potestas*, grew steadily more influential. Nevertheless, when Syme outlines the «Pompeian» supporters of Tiberius, he in fact demonstrates that these were connections that Tiberius had through his mother (See Figure 5)<sup>152</sup>. For example, Cinna was the brother-in-law of Drusus Libo, and the story of Livia's role in Cinna's gaining the consulship

<sup>148</sup> Cinna's full name appears in the Capitoline Fasti as *Cn. Cornelius L. f. Magni Pompei n. Cinna Magnus* (*CIL* I<sup>2</sup> p. 29 = Degraasi, *Inscr. Ital.* VIII 1, p. 61 for the year AD 5), irregularly emphasizing his maternal descent from Pompey the Great. See *PIR*<sup>2</sup> C 1339.

<sup>149</sup> See *PIR*<sup>2</sup> C 1339 and SYME, *Augustan Aristocracy*, p. 266.

<sup>150</sup> Sen., *Clem.* I 9.2-12 for the earlier date, Dio LV 14-22 for the later. See SPEYER, p. 277-284 and BAUMAN, *Crimen Maiestatis*, p. 196-197.

<sup>151</sup> SYME, *Roman Revolution*, p. 414 n. 1.

<sup>152</sup> SYME, *Roman Revolution*, p. 424-425, includes among these supporters the C. Sentius Saturninus just discussed, Cinna, and the L. Volusius Saturninus treated below. Regarding Cinna's connection to Livia, WEINRIB, p. 250, has demonstrated that a 'Magna', whom he identifies as Cornelia Magna, daughter of L. Cornelius Cinna (*RE* 107, *pr.* 44) and sister of the Cinna under discussion (*RE* 108), married an L. Scribonius Libo. Since the latter appears to have been Drusus Libo before he began to use his adoptive name regularly (see SCHEID, p. 349ff.), Cornelia Magna would have been Livia's sister-in-law through adoption.

after his 'conspiracy' may have arisen from her connection to his family or a later assumption that she and her son would have had an interest in helping advance a relative who had not previously been in favor.

Two new families with Neronian connections, the Volusii Saturnini and the Salvii Othones, rose to prominence in the principate of Augustus. Both these families came from Etruscan Ferentium, an area where the Claudii Neroni and perhaps Livia herself had connections that antedate her marriage to Octavian<sup>153</sup>. The Claudia who had married a Q. Volusius from Ferentium was the sister of Tiberius Nero and perhaps even a cousin of Livia (see Figure 3)<sup>154</sup>. The Volusii had never obtained an office higher than the praetorship, but L. Volusius Q.f. Saturninus (*RE* 16) held a suffect consulship in 12, probably with the support of both Livia and her son. Tiberius, having just held the consulship himself in 13, was Saturninus' first cousin and was probably supportive of his consulship. When Saturninus' son, L. Volusius L.f. Saturninus (*RE* 17), became *consul suffectus* in AD 3, however, Tiberius was still in disfavor after his return from Rhodes and was probably unable to serve as an effective patron, leaving Livia to guarantee the interests of their clients. While Livia's patronage of the Volusii remains a supposition, the Salvii Othones are known to have been directly sponsored by Livia. M. Salvius Otho (*RE* 20), grandfather of the later emperor Otho (*RE* 21), entered the Senate and gained a praetorship with Livia's help<sup>155</sup>. His son L. Salvius Otho (*RE* 17), a close friend to Tiberius<sup>156</sup>, was the first of the family to reach the consulship in AD 33.

Thus the careers of the Scribonii, Volusii Saturnini, and the Salvii Othones illustrate the importance of the bonds that Livia had before she married Octavian, and many inscriptions reflect that she continued to advertise her own ancestry. After Octavian became Augustus, Livia's status was increasingly defined by her relationship to the emperor, and Purcell has demonstrated the uniqueness of her position and public

<sup>153</sup> HUNTSMAN, p. 39 and 67.

<sup>154</sup> PALMER, p. 155, notes that a «Claudian kinswoman» had married a Q. Volusius; SYME, *The Stemma of the Sentii Saturnini*, p. 156, thought that the Claudia in question was the daughter of Ti. Claudius Nero (*RE* 253, *pr.* by 63) and was thus the sister of Livia's first husband, Nero (*RE* 254). If Drusus Claudianus was born a Nero (see HUNTSMAN, p. 22, 43-44), then this Claudia could have been a cousin as well as a sister-in-law of Livia. All that is definitely known is that Q. Volusius was the son-in-law of a Tiberius (Cic., *Att.* V 21.6).

<sup>155</sup> Suet., *Otho* 1.1.

<sup>156</sup> Suet., *Otho* 1.1.

presentation<sup>157</sup>. Nevertheless, her own name continues to appear with the element *Drusi filia* in her nomenclature<sup>158</sup>, reminding readers of her descent from both the Livii Drusi and the Claudii and her pre-Octavian, Republican connections<sup>159</sup>. Likewise, the elements *Livia*, *Drusus*, *Drusilla*, and *Nero* so prominent in the nomenclature of Livia, her father, and her first husband became important and prominent elements in the names of her descendants, thereby continuing to emphasize the importance of her family, its Republican antecedents, and its various connections well into the imperial period (see Figure 6)<sup>160</sup>.

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<sup>157</sup> PURCELL, p. 79-97.

<sup>158</sup> After 27 BC Latin inscriptions give her name as *Livia Caesaris Augusti* and those in Greek show her as ἡ τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ Καίσαρος γυνή, indicating her position as the wife of the man who was at once Caesar's heir and the revered *princeps* of the Roman state: see *AE* (1904), 98 (Ephesus); *CIL* VI 3102 (Tarracoenensis) and XIV 3575 (Tibur) = *Inscr. It.* IV 1 no. 75; *IG* IV 1393 and 1394 (Epidauros), XII 8 no. 381.6 (Thasos); *IGRR* I-II 835 (Thasos). Some inscriptions feature only *Augusti* or Σεβαστοῦ perhaps indicating that as the name *Augustus* took on greater import it was less necessary to emphasize the name *Caesar*: see *CIL* VIII 16456 (Numidia) and IX 3304 (Superaequum); *AE* 1971, 439 (Mahemdia); *IGRR* I-II 902 (Phanagoria), III 984 (Salamis, Cyprus).

<sup>159</sup> *CIL* II 2038, V 6416, IX 3304 and 4514, X 459 and 799, XI 7416 and 7552a; *AE* 1976, 185. Eight of these nine inscriptions, because of the use of the name *Iulia Augusta*, were carved after AD 14. Nevertheless they also have Livia as *Drusi f.*, indicating that she continued to celebrate her Livian descent throughout her life.

<sup>160</sup> A granddaughter, Claudia Livia (Drusus and Antonia's daughter, commonly referred to in the literary sources as Livilla) and a great granddaughter, Iulia Livilla (daughter of Germanicus and Vipsania Agrippina) both bore names derived from the *gens Livia*, no doubt to honor Livia herself but also reminiscent of the Republican Livii. In addition to her own son Drusus, other descendants using forms of *Drusus* include her grandson Drusus Claudius Nero (later Drusus Iulius Caesar, the son of the emperor Tiberius), and two great grandchildren, Nero Iulius Caesar and Iulia Drusilla (children of Germanicus and Vipsania Agrippina). The element *Nero* appears in its standard position as a cognomen for the her son Tiberius and grandson Claudius and as a praenomen for her great grandson Nero Iulius Caesar (son of Germanicus and Vipsania Agrippina) and in the adoptive nomenclature of her second great grandson, the emperor Nero.

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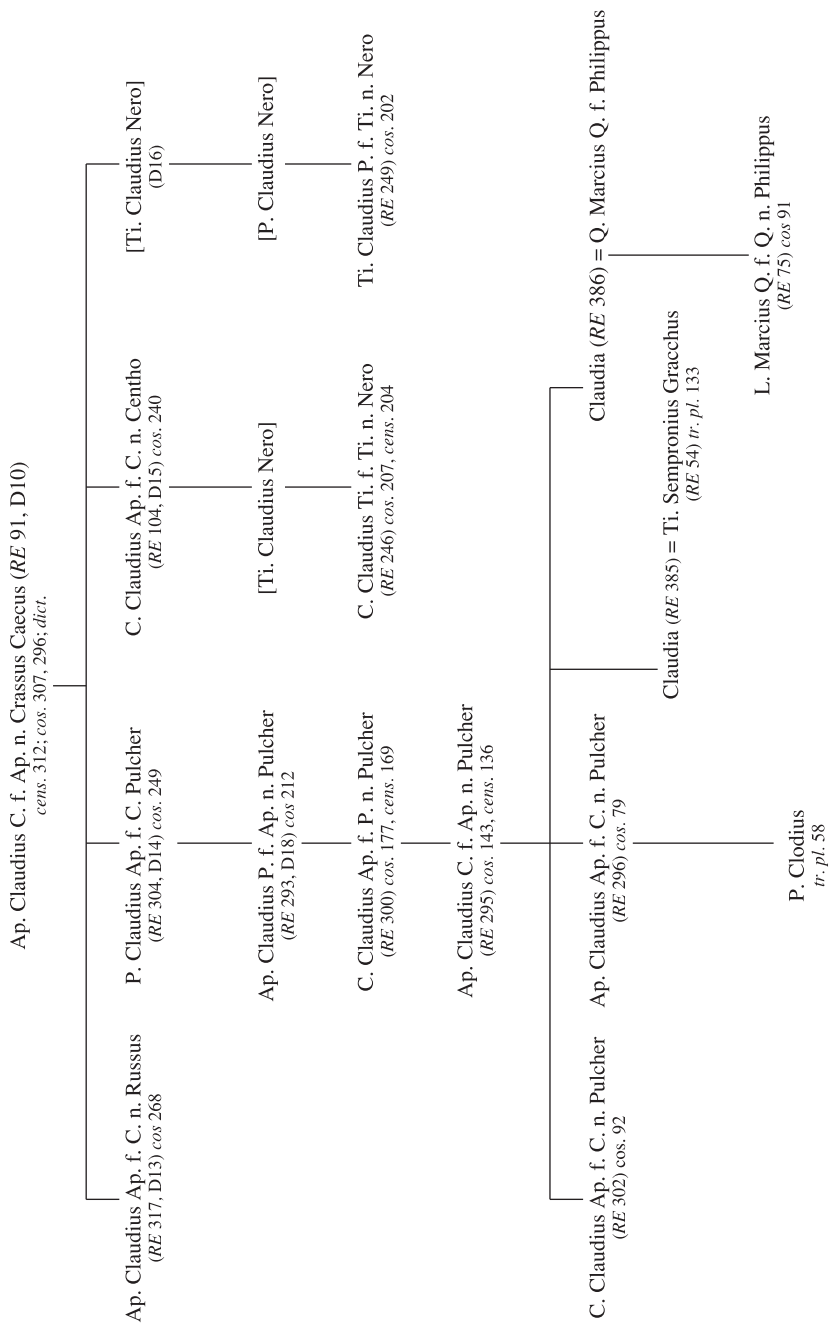
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Fig. 1 – Some Claudii.

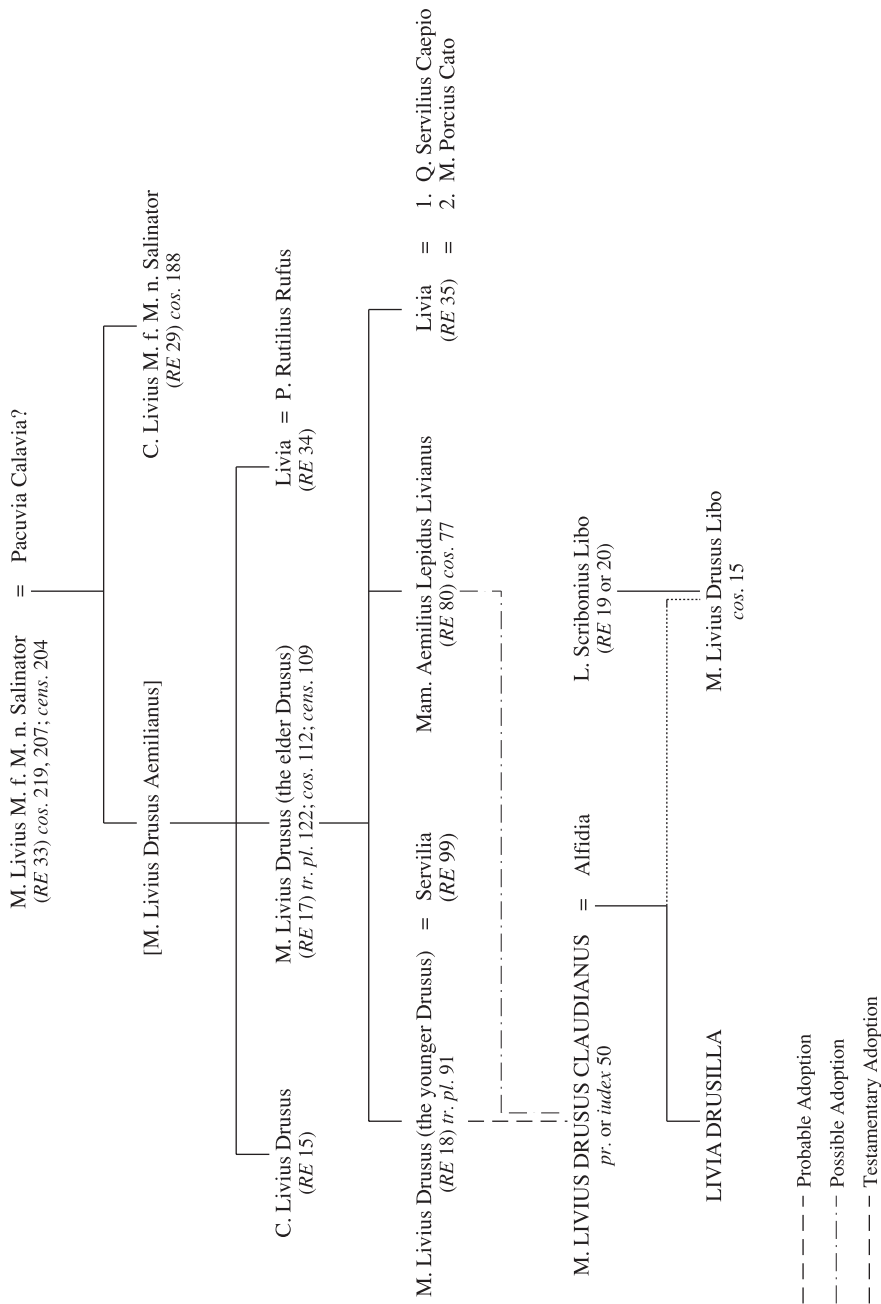


Fig. 2 – The Livii Drusi.

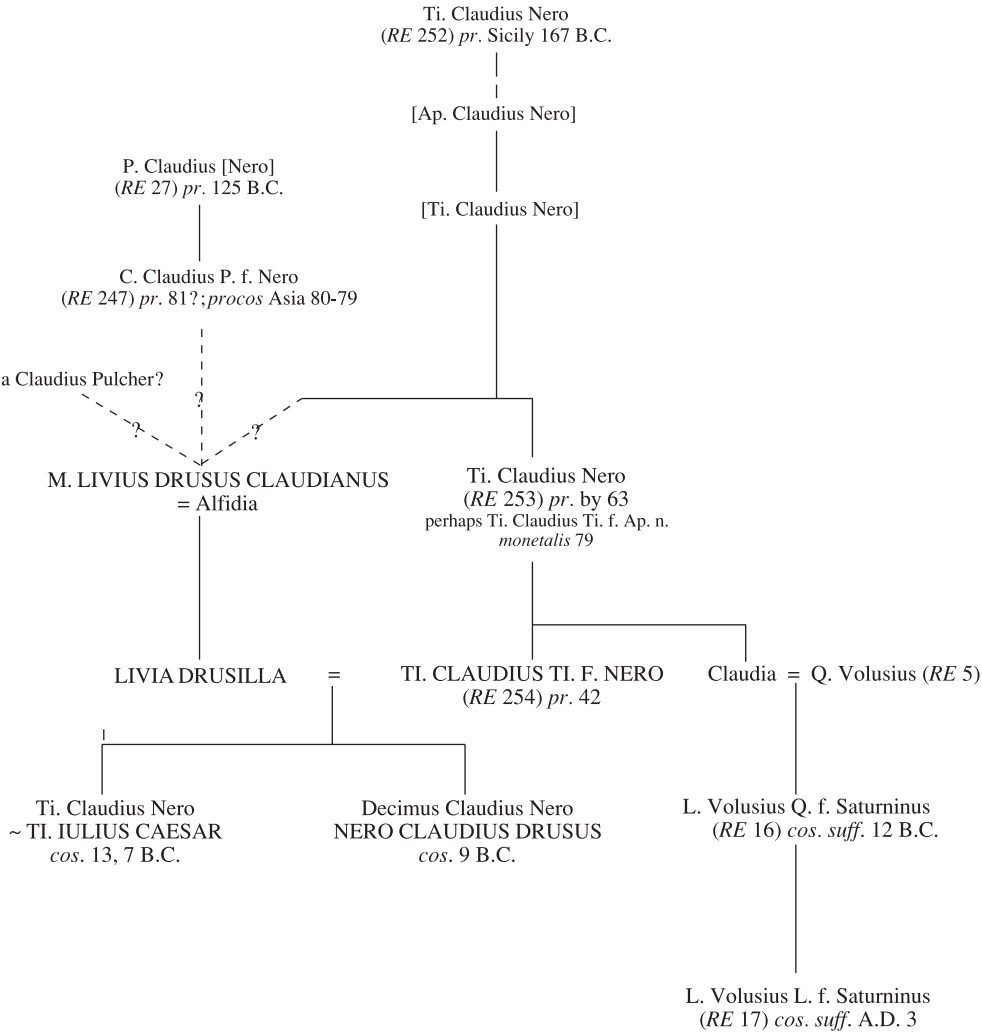


Fig. 3 – The later Claudii Neroni.

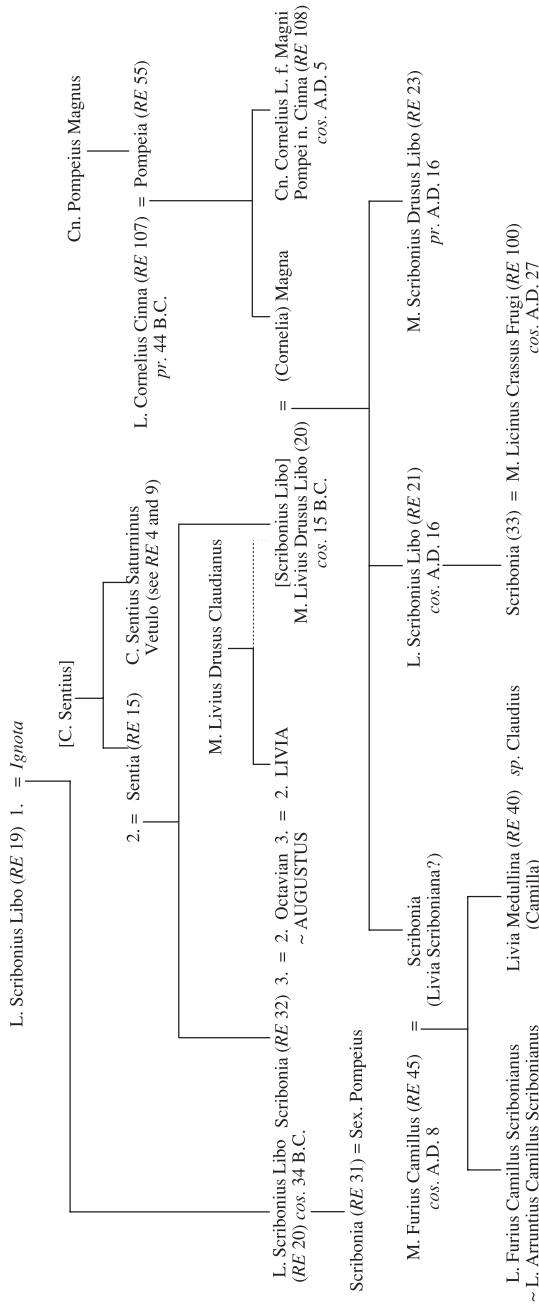


Fig. 4 – The Scribonii Libones and their connections.

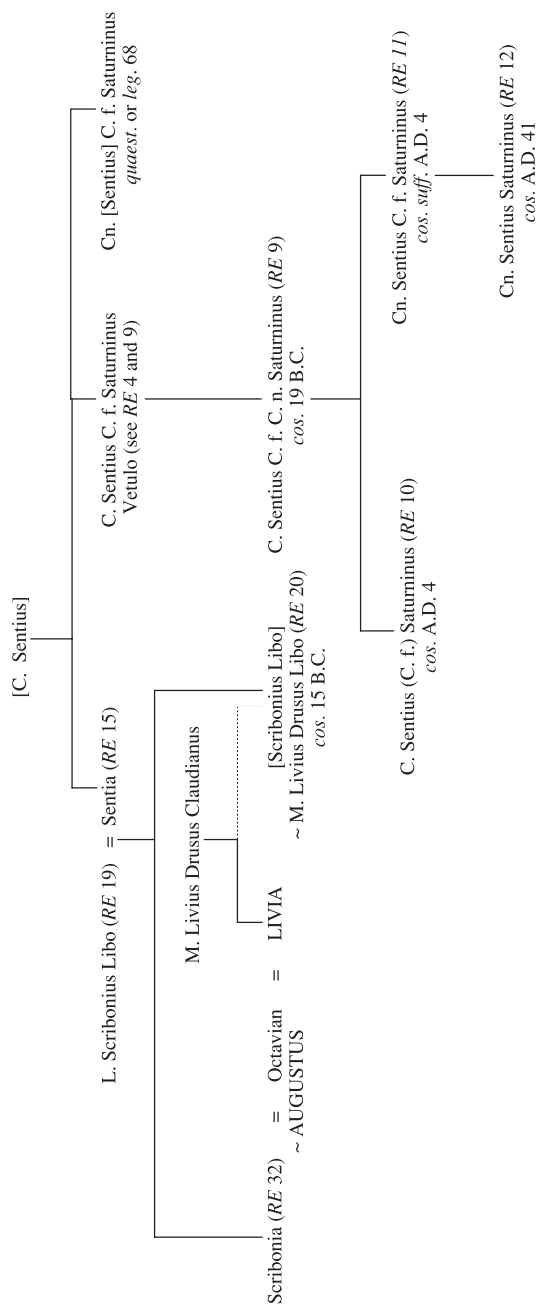


Fig. 5 – The Sentii Saturnini.



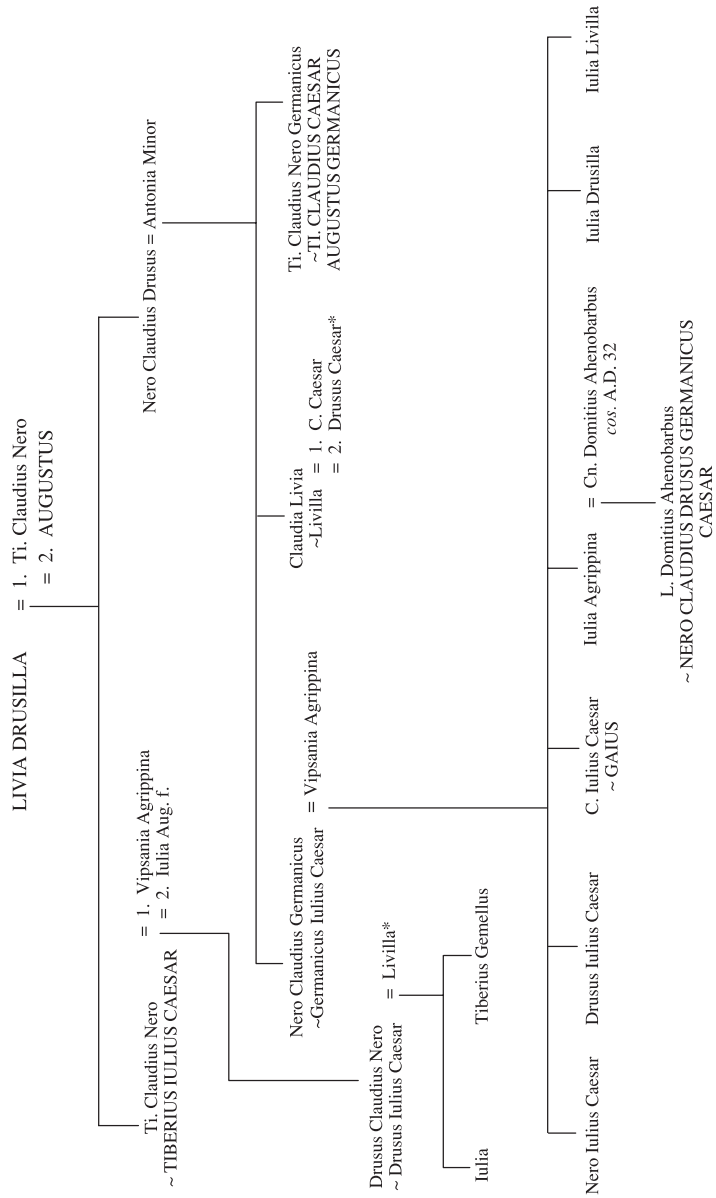


Fig. 6 – Descendants of Livia.

## GLIMPSES OF VERTICAL INTEGRATION/DISINTEGRATION IN ANCIENT ROME\*

*Abstract:* Light is cast on Roman industrial structures by considering literary, archaeological and monumental evidence for Eurysaces (bread), the Sestii (wine) and the Secundinii (textiles). We become aware of both vertically integrated and vertically disintegrated enterprises.

For the economist the challenge and attraction of antiquity is the necessity to extract evidence about economic structures from the most diverse and, indeed, unlikely kinds of testimonies. The modern economist manipulates numbers and spends leisure hours in museums viewing monuments and artifacts. The ancient economist visits museums to obtain data and wishes for numbers during leisure time. The present paper seeks evidence about vertical integration and disintegration in diverse sources, especially the monuments of the Secundinii and Eurysaces.

### MEANING OF VERTICAL INTEGRATION/DISINTEGRATION

Sometimes entrepreneurs interested in producing a given product undertake operations/processes upstream (backward) or downstream (forward) from that product. Economists refer to enterprises carrying out successive operations/processes as 'vertically integrated'. Thus, for example, a merchant interested in marketing wine produces the wine himself and transports it to the market in his own ships (backward integration). Or a producer of pots extracts clay (backward integration) and sells the pots in his own shops (forward integration). In order to accomplish his objective the wine merchant or producer of pots must purchase/lease land, vineyards, or a claypit. The acquisition of land is evidenced even in the ancient world (see Silver 2006, 2009). On the other hand, entrepreneurs sometimes focus on a single operation/process. The wine merchant purchases

\* My thanks to John Drinkwater, Lauren Hackworth Petersen, John P. Wild and two anonymous reviewers for comments and suggestions. The responsibility for errors is entirely my own. My research benefited greatly from the conscientious assistance of Evelyn Bodden and Taneeka Wilder of the Interlibrary Loan Department in the Cohen Library in the City College of New York.

wine from the farmer and pays a shipper to transport it; the pot-manufacturer purchases clay and sells his pots to itinerant merchants. When upstream and downstream operations/processes are integrated by means of a market interface, economists say that enterprises are 'vertically disintegrated'. It should be noted, however, that enterprises are rarely if ever *completely* integrated or disintegrated.

#### SIGNIFICANCE OF VERTICAL INTEGRATION/DISINTEGRATION

The story of vertical integration/disintegration is a familiar one in economic history (Silver 1984: Part II). Entrepreneurs perceive profitable new economic opportunities. In order to carry out their plans they need certain inputs and/or products. Naturally, the entrepreneurs go to the market to acquire the cooperation of appropriately talented local producers. The latter, with their state-of-the-art technology, are capable of producing what is needed more cheaply than the entrepreneur, whose talents and expertise typically lie elsewhere. The price offered by the entrepreneur may be attractive, but how can the local producers be sure that once they have made the necessary investments the entrepreneur will be able to fulfill his commitments to them? The entrepreneur has information to convince him that the new product or market he has picked is a winner. The local producers have no such information. Entrepreneurs wish to do something new and therefore they are by definition eccentric. The local producers decline the entrepreneur's offer; from their perspective, the risk is too great. Even the most attractive price is not attractive enough.

Does the entrepreneur seek to overcome this often tenacious, ignorance-engendered resistance by *explaining* the nature of the economic opportunity to each local producer in order to take advantage of his resources? This is no simple matter! The entrepreneur is faced with the significant problem of *information impactedness*: it is costly for the entrepreneur to transmit the information required to bring about the necessary information parity with the local producers. Does the entrepreneur seek to secure the cooperation of the local producers by sweetening his offer? This can be very costly! Instead of bearing information transmission costs or bidding up prices, the entrepreneur often finds that his *least costly* option is to purchase or rent the capital equipment and labor services of qualified producers and employ them in producing the successively needed inputs or operations within his own firm. (Typically,

the acquisition approach is less costly than building a new enterprise from the ground up.) Thus is born the vertically integrated enterprise.

In the earlier stages of rapid economic change the 'visible hand' (vertical integration) prevails. That is, firms increasingly replace market mechanisms in coordinating the activities of the economy and allocating its resources. This is because of the problem of information impactedness. The vertically integrated industry is typically one that is just emerging and not yet set in its ways. However, for good economic reasons, after a longer or shorter period of industry growth and adjustment the 'visible hand' tends to recede into the shadows if not into invisibility. Information ceases to be impacted. Knowledge of the new market opportunities penetrates to the grassroots of the local producers. As just argued, the demonstrated success of the new product/market makes it somewhat easier for small producers from diverse backgrounds to acquire capital on favorable terms in order to participate. As the market grows the balance of economic advantage shifts to specialized, independent firms. Upstream and downstream processes and products are separated. Some firms specialize in providing raw materials, others in manufacturing various inputs, others in assembling the final product; some firms serve as wholesalers of the final product and others are retailers. The various firms interface through markets. The 'invisible hand' of the market replaces the 'visible hand' of vertical integration<sup>1</sup>. The vertically disintegrated industry is typically a mature and settled industry. However, it is well to keep in mind that important new innovations are capable of reigniting vertical integration in long-settled industries.

<sup>1</sup> Typically the decline in vertical integration over time will be more pronounced in an entire industry than within the firms of the original innovators (SILVER 1984, p. 50-51). The reason is that the original firms gained some expertise in the various operations upstream and downstream from their product. By means of learning by doing, they made themselves into relatively low-cost producers. The later entrants into the industry do not need to make these inefficient investments in expertise because the qualified specialists are now ready to perform the up-and-downstream operations. The later entrants are free to devote their limited resources to producing their product. However, even the original firms will be less vertically integrated than they once were. Thus, refiners such as Exxon, a descendent of the vertically integrated giant Standard Oil, are withdrawing from the retail gasoline business. Similarly, General Motors has mostly disposed of its parts manufacturing operations and Dell is in the process of disposing of its computer factories and switching to reliance on independent contractors.

## ITALY'S WINE INDUSTRY

The process of vertical integration and disintegration is visible in Italy's great wine export industry<sup>2</sup>. By the later third century BCE the Sestii family, true entrepreneurs, already produced wine for export on their estate(s) near Cosa in Etruria. This very early date is supported by amphora stamps found at Pech Maho (near Narbonne in southern France), in deep water some 60 miles north of Tunisia, and at Cosa itself. An indication of vertical integration of the production and marketing of wine is provided by the *Lex Claudia* of 218 BCE which would have severely limited the size of ships that might be owned by senators and their sons to no more than 300 amphorae<sup>3</sup>. «This was considered quite large enough for the conveyance of produce from their estates, all profit made by trading was regarded as dishonourable for the patricians» (Livy XXI 63.3-4; Roberts). Livy explains that senators were virtually unanimous in opposing this measure. Quite possibly this opposition was self-interested — that is, many senators owned much larger vessels for cost-effective export of wine produced on their estates.

In any event, judging by the number of Sestii-stamped amphoras, the enterprise was flourishing by the end of the second century BCE. The Sestii packaged their wine in amphoras of their own manufacture (stamped SES with an accompanying symbol such as a trident) and then

<sup>2</sup> There is no question that producers in Republican Rome exported many millions of amphorae of wine to Gaul. Private economic actors consciously and repetitively *chose* to produce and to deliver wine for sale and profit. (The presence of Iberian shipper's marks on some of the earliest amphorae suggests that local businesspersons carried some Italian wine.) Moreover, it appears that the purchasers of wine in Gaul were individuals, not the Roman army: «The archaeological evidence points clearly to a Gallic and civilian consumption. It was the *oppida* [fortified towns] of Gaul, in the Transalpine region as well as in barbarian Gaul, that, together with the mining regions received the overwhelming majority of amphorae. The exceptionally plentiful texts from Posidonius to Caesar which mention deliveries of Italian wine in Gaul also all indicate that the buyers were Gallic» (TCHERNIA 1983, p. 93). Thus, the trade in Italian wine had little or nothing to do with the Roman state and army.

<sup>3</sup> With respect to the sizes of shipwrecks found mostly near the coasts of Italy, France and Spain, «it appears that one can distinguish three classes: (1) the smallest, with under 75 tons of cargo or 1500 amphoras — the commonest kind, found in all periods; (2) a medium range, with a cargo weighing 75-200 tons, or 2000-3000 amphoras — within the period 1st century BC – 3d century AD; (3) the largest, with a cargo of over 250 tons, or more than 6000 amphoras — mostly of the late Republican period ...» (PARKER 1992: 26). Considering these findings the *Lex Claudia*'s base capacity of only 300 amphorae seems not even close to an efficient size for participation in international trade.

shipped it off to markets such as Gaul in their own ships<sup>4</sup>. The estate in Cosa is mentioned in the mid-first century BCE by Cicero (*ad Atticum* XV 27.1) and Cicero also remarks on the «splendid ships of Sestius» (*ad Atticum* XVI 4.4). Also, in 23 BCE Horace (*Odes* IV 1) refers in his 'Sestius ode', albeit in poetic fashion, to the ships, pottery kilns, and «realms of wine» of L Sestius.

However, with the possible exception of the fictional Trimalchio who owned his own ships, this degree of vertical integration in the wine industry is not clearly visible in later times<sup>5</sup>. The successive stages in the production/marketing of wine are clearly technologically separable and, with the passage of time, markets became able to sustain the stages as specialized activities. Thus, for example, Paterson (1982: 155 with n. 72) suggests, citing agricultural writers such as Pliny the Elder (later first century CE) and «legal sources (which had a particular interest in the sale of wine because it contained a number of difficulties) that most large-scale landowners were not directly involved in the marketing of their agricultural produce, but left this largely to *negotiatores* who might become involved as early as the picking of the grapes for wine» (see *Digest* XIX 1.25). (The waters are somewhat muddled, however, because the letting of olive and grape harvests is found already in Cato the Elder (146.1) in the second century BCE). More basically, during the first century CE, vertically integrated Italian plantations ('villas') gradually disintegrated and were replaced by small farms producing wine for sale, especially for the huge market in Rome (Silver 2006: esp. 39, 44-45 with references). Letters of Pliny the Younger (III 19, IX 37, and X 8) written in the earlier second century CE explicitly show us tenants involved in vine cultivation and the payment by tenants of rents in cash. Private merchants purchased wine from small farmers and distributed in the cities<sup>6</sup>.

<sup>4</sup> Sources on wine exports and the Sestii: ARTHUR (1995); CUNLIFFE (1988, p. 81-87); DYSON (2000); LOUGHTON (2003); SILVER (2006); TCHERNIA (1983); WILL (1979, 1982a; 1982b; 2001). With respect to vertical integration, C. Rabirius Postumus, whose name, according to YEO (1952, p. 336), appears on amphorae found in various overseas locations also owned two estates and apparently ships (Cicero, *Pro Rabirio Postumo* 14.38, 40).

<sup>5</sup> In the *Satyricon* (2.76) Petronius (d. 66 CE) seems to provide an exception: Trimalchio tells his guests that having inherited a senator's fortune he built five ships, loaded them with wine, and sent them to Rome. Unfortunately, the ships sank. He then built bigger ships and loaded them with wine and other cargo.

<sup>6</sup> Among the private traders was one Trimalchio who, noting that in Rome «wine was worth its weight in gold,» dispatched five barges full to that city (*Satyricon* 76.3-5; Heseltine).

The Roman state was not an important participant in this extensive commerce for, as Paterson (1998: 157) notes, «there were no state [wine] distributions in Rome until Aurelian [270-275 CE]».

#### MONUMENTS OF EURYSACES AND THE SECUNDINII

The first-century BCE monument of Eurysaces (*CIL* VI 1958 = *ILS* 7460) provides indications of vertical integration. Two inscriptions tell us that Eurysaces was *pistor* «baker», *redemptor* «contractor», *apparet* or *appare(i)tor* meaning «(as) is evident»/«it is obvious» or «public servant» (see Petersen 2003: 230 with n. 2, 249 with n. 113; 2006: 117-8, 253, n. 13)<sup>7</sup>. Eurysaces' tomb depicts grinding of grain, mechanical kneading of dough, forming of loaves, baking bread, and weighing of bread. It is not surprising that grain growing is not depicted as the prevailing grain varieties and sources of supply would surely have met Eurysaces' needs. More significantly, the monument does not depict transport and sale of bread. It should be noted, however, that the entire east façade of the monument is missing.

Eurysaces is «contractor» as well as «baker» (or a «baker-contractor»). Further, the weighing and recording of bread takes place in the presence of workers in short tunics and of togate individuals who may be buyers for the government (Petersen 2003: 243, 249) or for private enterprises. The toga is a status symbol but it was less than convenient attire for those who did physical labor. By late Republican times it had been supplanted by the tunic for ordinary daily wear (George 2008: 95-6, 107). A wall painting from Pompeii casts light on the status of the togate individuals (Naples Museum Inv. 120299; Ward-Perkins and Claridge 1978: 194, fig. 228). The painting, from a private house, shows a togate individual seated behind a counter, loaded with a variety of breads, in what appears to be the front room of a baker's shop. He looks down on three individuals, two adults and one child, and hands a

<sup>7</sup> The ambiguity arises because *apparet* «it is obvious» might be an abbreviation for *appare(i)tor* «public servant». For ØRSTED (1965, p. 121-122) the matter is clear: «The meaning of *apparet* can be shown by referring to *CIL* VI.1958, where we find the wife of Eurysaces buried in a *panarium*, a breadbasket! This was a maker typical of his quick-witted trade. Letting himself be buried in an oven and his wife in a breadbasket ought to leave no doubt that this is a baker's grave, *apparet* (= as you can clearly see).»

round loaf to one of the adults. The child reaches up to the adult as if expecting or hoping to receive the loaf. This looks very much like a fondly remembered everyday bakeshop scene. I see no reason to identify the individual behind the counter as an official handing out free bread. Why a toga? One explanation is that it is a distinctive item of attire worn by bakeshop proprietors. Perhaps the toga served the same purpose as the chef's toque or the white jackets worn by medical doctors when they see patients. The alternative explanation is that an unaccompanied, togate official personally hands out bread, including round and puffy loaves, rolls from a basket, and sliced or ring-shaped bread. This, I submit, gives too much credit to Rome's welfare state. The best guess is that the togate individuals depicted by Eurysaces are independent retailers of bread. Alternatively, they may have been employees of Eurysaces.

The depictions reveal that Eurysaces integrated various operations in bread production and possibly integrated forward into marketing bread. This suggests that Rome's bread industry may well have been immature/integrated in Eurysaces' day. (It certainly was not in later times.) However, there is no explicit testimony in the tomb concerning what might have been new or innovative about Eurysaces' product or his market. One clue is provided by Cicero (*In Pisonem* 67), a contemporary of Eurysaces, who belittled Piso because he had no baker and obtained his bread from a bakery. Possibly, up to Eurysaces' time, Roman 'bakers' mostly milled grain and most upper class citizens baked their own bread while the masses ate the milled grain they purchased from 'bakers' as *puls*, a kind of porridge (see Sirks 1991: 309, n. 5; 1999: 101-104; cf. Bakker 1999: 118-20). Indeed, *pistor* is derived from *pinsere*, «to grind» (Sirks 1991: 307). According to Sirks (1991: 307): «*Pistores* who simply baked bread only made their appearance towards the end of the fourth century A.D. when the first water-mills were built in Rome». Also, in the fourth century, free bread was being doled out to citizens instead of grain and Rome had about 250 bakeries (Erdkamp 2005: 253; Loane 1938: 87). A second indication of the innovative nature of Eurysaces' enterprise is the sixty-three relatively expensive kneading machines built into the structure of his tomb (Peterson 2003: 247, 2006). If indeed Rome's market for bread were still new in the first century BCE, the mass production and marketing of bread would indeed be a major innovation. In this event, one may perhaps go so far as to compare Eurysaces' insight concerning the potential of the Roman bread market with Henry Ford's insight



concerning the vast market for standardized, low-priced 'horseless carriages'<sup>8</sup>.

Our second case study is the funeral monument of the Secundinii family at Igel (*CIL* XIII 4206; Dragendorff and Krüger 1924), a few miles from Trier in Germany, which depicts various cloth trade operations in the early third century CE. The latter include the transport of cloth by ship and wagon. Drinkwater (1982: 115) comments:

I agree with Drexel that the reliefs on the Igel column are sufficient in number and in detail to suggest that those who commissioned it wanted to get across to the spectator as much as possible of their everyday life and business activity. Thus, as long as the argument is not pressed too far, what is not depicted is probably just as important as what is. In particular, what the monument does not show is either the raising of sheep, or the manufacture and retail of finished woolen products.

It is not that raising sheep and retailing finished woolen textiles were simply not the kinds of activities that were depicted. There are, as Drinkwater (1982: 115) notes, scenes of both. What the Igel monument does clearly show is the sale of cloth «only in great, heavy lengths, requiring several people to unfold them» (Drinkwater 1982: 115; cf. 2001). More recently, Wild (2001), a textile archaeologist, has argued that the Secundinii marketed ready-to-wear tunics, namely a wide-fitting coat/cloak, not bolts of cloth. In supporting this identification Wild notes that, «Roman garments were almost always woven in one piece on the loom ... In the Roman world [unlike Medieval Europe] there were no locally woven bolts or rolls of cloth, yardage or *Meterware*.»

In any case, the monument testifies that the Secundinii were disintegrated textile wholesalers<sup>9</sup>. Given his supporting arguments, I provisionally accept Wild's position that the textiles marketed by the Secundinii are cloaks. That they produced the cloaks in their own enterprise is not likely. It is true that a very damaged scene on the east side of the monument has sometimes been understood to depict a textile workshop. Wild (2001), however, maintains that what had been «construed as a loom

<sup>8</sup> There is no implication that other Roman industries were vertically integrated/immature at this time. Vertical integration is triggered by the introduction of specific new products for specific new markets. Consequently, some/most industries may be experiencing disintegration (or remaining stable) at the same time as others are integrating.

<sup>9</sup> This does not preclude that other industries in Gaul were experiencing vertical integration at this time (see note 8).

does not fit what we know today of the structure of Roman looms. In fact no part of the textile production process prior to delivery of the finished cloaks seems to be depicted on the monument.» Moreover, several somewhat ambiguous scenes are best understood to mean that the *Secundinii* purchased/acquired textiles from independent producers (for sources, see Drinkwater 1982: 111-113). The arrival and checking of cloaks by the *Secundinii* is depicted (Wild 2001). In addition to this 'quality control', one scene appears to show local (independent) weavers lined up to be paid in coin for the textiles they delivered (Drinkwater 1981: 224; 1982: 119-120). Drinkwater (1981: 224) is inclined to view these weavers as working under a 'putting-out' system in which the *Secundinii* would have provided wool or yarn. One problem here is that, as just noted, the monument provides little or no evidence that the *Secundinii* were involved in wool/yarn production. Second, given the local availability of (inexpensive?) wool and given a reasonably standardized final product and the likelihood that the *Secundinii* were not the only purchasers, there is no obvious reason why the craftsmen would not have undertaken the entire responsibility for production of the textiles<sup>10</sup>.

It is clear that the textiles depicted in the monument belong to the *Secundinii*. Large bales are depicted being wrapped and tied for transport (Wild 2001). Quite probably, the *Secundinii* were vertically integrated only to the extent of directly managing the crews, barges, and wagons that they depict carrying textiles to market. The evidence does not, however, exclude that the *Secundinii* contracted with independent transporters. The *Secundinii* may well have sought to focus the attention of viewers on the diverse and widespread travels of the bales, not on the vehicles that transported them.

Our monument is consistent with the view that Gaul's textile industry had become mature/disintegrated at the time of the *Secundinii*. The *Secundinii* at least were selling a standardized product for an established market<sup>11</sup>. Wild (2001) explains, «The *Secundinii* were living at a time of

<sup>10</sup> In eighteenth-century England, the putting-out system was less evident among Yorkshire weavers of coarse cloth using local wool supplies, than among weavers of lightweight worsteds using long-fiber wools brought in from Lincolnshire, Lancashire and Norwich (see SILVER 1984, chap. 8).

<sup>11</sup> It is well to note that markets in Roman Gaul were stable/thick enough to support the sale of standardized textiles as is demonstrated by a number of reliefs, which «plainly represent the sale of 'ready-made' items [woolen goods] in small shops to individual customers, e.g. 'soft-furnishings' in the shape of curtains or tablecloths, or 'ready-to-wear' shoulder capes and tunics» (DRINKWATER 1982, p. 115).

change in metropolitan fashion; the vogue had begun for dalmatics [long-sleeved tunics] and long-sleeved shirts with fancy tapestry ornament ... The Secundinii were in no sense fashion leaders; but they were making a significant contribution to provincial requirements for sound, everyday textiles.» Wild (2001) conjectures that the Igel garment developed from the venerable *sagum*<sup>12</sup>, or «military cloak». Actually, the cloak was widely worn by civilians as well as soldiers. It was marketed by merchants known as *sagarii* who were centered in Lyon (Liu 2004: 38-40; Verboven 2007). Unfortunately, the process by which indigenous Gallic cloaks were prepared for the world market is little known. The ancestors of Igel's «everyday textiles» may have been innovative products of a vertically integrated industry. Writing in the early first century CE, Strabo (IV 4.3.111-119) explains:

The Gallic people wear the 'sagus,' let their hair grow long, and wear tight breaches, instead of tunics ... The wool of their sheep, from which they weave the coarse 'sagi' (which they call 'laenae') is not only rough, but also flocky at the surface; *the Romans, however, even in the most northerly parts raise skin-clothed flocks with wool that is sufficiently fine.*» (emphasis added; Jones)

Given that this fine wool was unfamiliar in the region, I would conjecture that its production was in the hands of vertically integrated Roman textile producers.

#### CONCLUDING REMARKS

A methodological problem needs to be considered. In principle, the industrial activities depicted in the monuments of the Secundinii and of Eurysaces might be understood as visual synecdoche in which parts of a process stand for the whole. However, in the absence of independent evidence for 'wholes' that can be compared to visual 'parts', we must

<sup>12</sup> *Sagum/sagus* is a Celtic loanword (WILD 1976, p. 62). Juvenal (*Satires* 9.28-30), writing in the late first – early second century CE, has Naevolus mention being given «a greasy cloak ... that will save my toga — a coarse and crudely dyed garment that has been ill-combed by the Gallic weaver» (Ramsay). DRINKWATER (2002, p. 125) suggests, «the asides of Juvenal and Martial [*Epigrammata* 1 96.4-9] about items of Gallic attire ... must imply a substantial export trade, and an equally substantial cloth industry to support it ...». It may be surmised that the ancestors of the *sagarii* played a major role in reshaping Gallic production.

rely, with Drinkwater, on reasonable inferences regarding the intentions of those commissioning monuments. First of all, the ‘might be’ synecdoche suggestion fails to explain why precisely these activities were chosen for depiction and not the others. It is difficult to imagine, for example, that viewers were meant to grasp that the Secundinii or Eurysaces also raised sheep or cultivated grain. More generally, Clarke (2003: 270) observes:

Images of work revealed how ordinary people, whether free, freed, or still slaves, took pride in the professions that gave them a special identity. Why else go to the trouble to show all the steps of the fulling process, or the mechanics of felt-making — especially when you put yourself in the picture... Even in tombs, pride in the work that bought you your freedom — and earned you enough money to have a fine monument — often meant showing a viewer just what you did or the products you made.

Thus, Clark, who has studied this kind of problem, regards the depictions of work commissioned by non-elite Romans to be largely realistic<sup>13</sup>.

In conclusion, it is possible to extract valuable evidence about Roman industrial structures from various sources, including even monuments. Given the extreme scarcity of relevant evidence<sup>14</sup>, an economist may perhaps be forgiven for squeezing the available ‘documents’ to make them surrender a few secrets.

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<sup>13</sup> More generally, the information in monuments about Roman socioeconomic structures has not been adequately exploited. For example, there is the question of the extent to which nonelites participated in euergetist activities (SILVER 2007). This behavior is well illustrated by the monument of the freedwoman Naevoleia Tyche and (probably) her husband C. Munatius Faustus. The monument was discovered in the cemetery of Pompeii and dates to the mid-first century CE. One side depicts (and hence takes credit for) a grain distribution. Another side rather realistically depicts a merchant ship trimming its sails as it sails into a port. The ship most probably refers to the trading activities of the dedicators as the scenes on funerary monuments typically referred to the lives of the deceased (D’AMBRA 2007, p. 27; LING 1984, p. 282).

<sup>14</sup> Actually, I examined but was unable to satisfactorily penetrate the rich evidence provided by ceramic stamps and *tituli picti* (see AUBERT 1994; FÜLLE 1997; and HARRIS 1993). Major studies of stamps on *terra sigillata* and on Spanish olive oil containers from Monte Testaccio have the potential to greatly enrich our picture of industrial organization in the Roman world.

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## HERMAS' 'BIOGRAPHY': SOCIAL UPWARD AND DOWNWARD MOBILITY OF AN INDEPENDENT FREEDMAN

*Abstract:* The 'biography' of Hermas, which can be extracted from the *Shepherd of Hermas*, an early Christian apocalyptic text, provides a fine example of a freedman who climbed up the social ladder as he became rich. With him we have the rare chance to study social upward and also downward mobility of freedmen in an individual case. Likewise Hermas may serve as an individual example for the category of "independent freedmen", who acted independently from their former master.

The *Shepherd of Hermas*<sup>1</sup> may not be a source too familiar to most ancient historians who work in the field of Roman social history. But this early Christian text, which conveys its prophetic message in the disguise of an apocalypse, provides a remarkable example of social upward and also downward mobility of an independent freedman. This aspect has not yet been treated sufficiently by Patristic scholars, whereas scholars interested in Roman slavery, especially in the social mobility of freedmen, have completely ignored the partly unique evidence of the *Shepherd*. Because of the presumptive unfamiliarity with this text it may be appropriate to give some short hints concerning its content.

<sup>1</sup> Editions of the *Pastor Hermae*, mostly with translations: B.D. EHRMAN (ed.), *The Apostolic Fathers II* (Loeb Classical Library, 25), Cambridge (MA) 2003; M. WHITTAKER (ed.), *Die Apostolischen Väter I, Der Hirt des Hermas* (*Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller*, 48), Berlin 1967<sup>2</sup>; R. JOLY (ed.), *Hermas, Le Pasteur* (*Sources chrétiennes*, 53bis), Paris 1968<sup>2</sup>; M. LEUTZSCH (ed.), *Hirt des Hermas* (*Schriften des Urchristentums*, 3), Darmstadt 1998, p. 105-510. – Commentaries on the Shepherd: N. BROX, *Der Hirt des Hermas* (*Kommentar zu den apostolischen Vätern, Ergänzungsreihe zum kritisch-exegetischen Kommentar über das Neue Testament*, 7), Göttingen 1991; M. DIBELIUS, *Der Hirt des Hermas*, Tübingen 1923; C. OSIEK, *Shepherd of Hermas, A Commentary*, Minneapolis 1999. – Further important contributions: P. LAMPE, *Die stadtrömischen Christen in den ersten beiden Jahrhunderten* (*Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament* 2, 18), Tübingen 1989<sup>2</sup>, p. 182-200 (rev. Engl. transl.: *From Paul to Valentinus, Christians at Rome in the First Two Centuries*, Minneapolis 2003, p. 218-236); M. LEUTZSCH, *Die Wahrnehmung sozialer Wirklichkeit im "Hirten des Hermas"*, Göttingen 1989. – This article was written during my stay at the Department of Ancient History at Macquarie University Sydney as a Feodor Lynen Research Fellow of the Alexander von Humboldt Foundation. My thanks go to the Humboldt Foundation for their generosity, and to my Macquarie colleagues for stimulating discussions. Special thanks are due to Paul McKechnie. In his seminar on "Hermas' Shepherd" I had the opportunity to present this paper, and he also had the kindness to make corrections to my English text.



The *Shepherd of Hermas* is structured in five «visions» (*visiones*), twelve «commandments» (*mandata*) and ten «parables» (*similitudines*)<sup>2</sup>. At the beginning, Hermas sees his former owner Rhode bathing in the Tiber. This same Rhode shortly afterwards appears to him in his first vision and calls him to repent from his evil desires of which he himself seemed to have been unconscious. After Rhode disappears an elderly lady turns up, the allegory of the Church, who becomes younger from vision to vision and basically in all visions tells Hermas to call his fellow Christians to repent from their sins. In the fifth vision an angel enters the scene in the shape of a shepherd. After this figure the text got its title 'Shepherd of Hermas'. The shepherd reveals further celestial messages to Hermas and dictates to him the commandments and parables. The *mandata* admonish the keeping of what the author regards as Christian virtues: faith, fear of God, purity, chastity, patience and the like. The fifth commandment deals with the issue of a possible 'second repentance' for Christians. In the ten parables the basic melody is the divergent fate of the righteous and the unrighteousness, including some variations on the theme 'the rich and the poor'. Altogether the text is a call for repentance addressed to Christians, who fall short of the standards the author of the Shepherd sets. Interwoven in this text are biographical data on Hermas, the main character in whom we may also recognize the author. With these dispersed data, it is possible to reconstruct Hermas' biography to a certain extent, and it is this biography we want to deal with on the following pages.

## I. EXTERNAL EVIDENCE ON HERMAS

But before we try to get some internal information about Hermas from the text, we have to examine the external evidence about the author and his lifetime. The most important external evidence stems from a passage of the so-called Muratorian fragment, a text, which probably goes back to the second half of the second century AD. It says: «Hermas has written the Shepherd very recently in our times in the city of Rome while on

<sup>2</sup> This at least is the formal structure. The inner structure is much more complex, e.g. the «commandments» also contain parables, and the «parables» are not always parables. For the composition cf. N. BROX (n. 1), p. 25-33.

the chair of the church of Rome was sitting the bishop Pius, his brother.»<sup>3</sup> So the *Muratorianum* gives basically three pieces of prosopographical information: Hermas wrote the Shepherd in Rome; he wrote the book very recently, when Pius was bishop of Rome; and this Pius was Hermas' brother. As the mentioned Pius is usually dated to the period ca. 140-155<sup>4</sup>, this would also give us a date for the Shepherd. However, there are some difficulties with the information contained in the Muratorian fragment. The Muratorian fragment dates the writer of the Shepherd to a period, when the monepiscopate was already introduced in the Roman church (be that under Pius or whenever), whereas the writer of the Shepherd undoubtedly has no knowledge of the monepiscopate but appears to refer to a presbyterial constitution of the church of Rome<sup>5</sup>. Furthermore, the writer of the Muratorian fragment is engaged in the debate on the canonicity of certain Christian texts. For him one important *criterium canonicitatis* is the apostolicity of a text. He denies the canonicity of the Shepherd with the argument that the book is non-apostolic, and it seems that, to prove his case, he wants to date the Shepherd as late as possible<sup>6</sup>. So in my view the Muratorian canon provides no exact date for the composition of the Shepherd, but rather a *terminus ante quem*.

The third prosopographical information on Hermas given by the Muratorian canon, namely that Hermas was the brother of Pius, is likewise doubtful. If the data on Hermas in the Shepherd, to which we come soon, deserve only a spot of credibility, then it is difficult to imagine that somebody with such a difficult traceable vita — a foundling who was exposed by his parents, raised up by the finder as a slave, later sold to a new owner in Rome and eventually became a freedman — would later be recognized as the brother of one of the leading figures of the Roman church.

So it seems doubtful that the prosopographical information on Hermas contained in the Muratorian canon is trustworthy, apart from the statement that the Shepherd was written in Rome. This indeed gets support from the Shepherd itself: Hermas was owned as a slave by a certain

<sup>3</sup> *Canon Muratori* II. 73-77: *Pastorem vero nuperrime temporibus nostris in urbe Roma Hermas conscripsit sedente cathedra urbis Romae ecclesiae Pio episcopo fratre eius.*

<sup>4</sup> N. BROX (n. 1), p. 15.

<sup>5</sup> N. BROX (n. 1), p. 533-536.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. N. BROX (n. 1), p. 15f.; C. OSIEK (n. 1), p. 18f.

Rhode who lived in Rome (*vis.* 1,1,1). And further geographical details link the whole scenery to Rome: Years after he became a freedman Hermas met Rhode bathing in the Tiber (*vis.* 1,1,2), and he possessed a small piece of land by the *via Campana* (*vis.* 4,1,2), which ran from Rome in the direction of Ostia. Therefore the Shepherd's author can most certainly be associated with Rome<sup>7</sup>, although one might ask how it were possible that Hermas, who is carried off to Arcadia in *sim.* 9,1,4, should soon afterwards (*sim.* 9,11,2) want to walk home from there and get back early next morning. But one should not overstretch this passage.

There is one other external information about the author of the Shepherd. Origen in his Commentary on the letter to the Romans and Eusebius in the Ecclesiastical History know of the opinion that the author of the Shepherd is the Hermas mentioned in the NT letter to the Romans 16,14. This would make Hermas a Christian of the first generation. But both display certain cautiousness on this topic. Origen says: «I think» (*puto tamen* — we only have the later Latin translation of his work); Eusebius: «It is said» (φασίν)<sup>8</sup>. It is fairly likely that the identification is a late invention<sup>9</sup>. Origen, who treats the Shepherd as canonical scripture, seemingly wants to date him early to confer him the status of being written by an author of the apostolic age. So there is not much to be gained from the external evidence on the person of Hermas.

## II. DATE OF THE SHEPHERD

At this point we also should deal briefly with the question of the date of the Shepherd<sup>10</sup>. Quickly, because for what I am going to say in this paper, the question seems to be not really relevant. The years 140-155 were already mentioned as *terminus ad quem* or possibly *ante quem*. Some scholars hold it possible that the Shepherd could date as early as the late first century AD. I would rather tend to a date later than 110, and this for a reason, which I have not found anywhere in the literature. I agree with those who think that the Shepherd probably does not allude

<sup>7</sup> Cf. N. BROX (n. 1), p. 22; C. OSIEK (n. 1), p. 18.

<sup>8</sup> Origenes, *comm. Rom.* X 31, *Patrol. Gr.* XIV p. 1282; Eusebius, *h.e.* III 3.6.

<sup>9</sup> N. BROX (n. 1), p. 16.

<sup>10</sup> An overview on the different approaches is provided by N. BROX (n. 1), p. 23-25, and C. OSIEK (n. 1), p. 18-20.

to any specific period of persecution<sup>11</sup>, be it the Neronian, the alleged Domitianic, the wrongly so-called Trajanic, or whichever. But there is one peculiar sentence in the Shepherd concerning the persecution of Christians. In *sim.* 9,28,4 are mentioned «those (...) who were summoned by authority and questioned and did not deny but suffered eagerly»<sup>12</sup>. This evidently refers to the legal inquiry of Christians, and it seems to me that the sentence reflects the pattern of legal procedures, which was set by Pliny and then confirmed by Trajan<sup>13</sup>. People accused of being Christians were brought before Pliny's tribunal. He inquired of them whether this was indeed the case. If they denied, he let them go. If they confessed to being Christians, he asked them twice more, and if they adhered their statement, capital punishment was the consequence. This is the ever-recurring pattern for the legal proceedings against the Christians in the post-Trajanic period. I am inclined to date the Shepherd to the time after Pliny's famous letter concerning the Christians, and before 140.

### III. INTERNAL EVIDENCE ON HERMAS

So let us consider now the internal evidence from the Shepherd, which may give us some autobiographical information. In this undertaking I will restrict myself to the data on the different stages of Hermas' life. I will not discuss the question whether Hermas really had visions or not<sup>14</sup>, which I am happy to leave to the theologians — or the psychologists.

#### III.1. *The problem of 'autobiography'*

The Shepherd of Hermas has a first person narrator. As banal as this observation is, it raises very fundamental questions related to Hermas' biography. Is the first person narrator identical with the author of the Shepherd of Hermas? Can we gain any authentic autobiographical information from the text at all? Or is the text and the embedded story of Hermas mere fiction, which would leave us with the options either to

<sup>11</sup> C. OSIEK (n. 1), p. 20.

<sup>12</sup> ὅσοι (...) ἐπ' ἐξουσίαν ἀχθέντες ἐζητάσθησαν καὶ οὐκ ἡρνήσαντο, ἀλλ' ἔπαθον προθύμως.

<sup>13</sup> Plinius, *ep.* X 96-97.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. M. LEUTZSCH (n. 1), p. 133.

search for potential realistic points in the figure of Hermas or to investigate the mind and the world of the author with the help of his literary product. Given that Hermas is potentially a fictitious character, another option would be just to give up the search for his biography before it even begins.

The two most prominent advocates of the view that the autobiographical information contained in the Shepherd is mere fiction and has nothing to do with historical reality are Martin Dibelius and Robert Joly<sup>15</sup>. According to Joly the autobiographical information given in the Shepherd is irreconcilable with the information the *Muratorianum* provides on the personal background of Hermas. This is undoubtedly right, but Joly considers the latter to be more trustworthy and therefore does not think that the opening of the Shepherd, where Hermas states he was a foundling and a former slave, contains any true autobiographical references. It has been already stated that this author does not share Joly's preference of the data on Hermas given in the *Muratorianum*. Martin Dibelius' main objection is that there is simply not enough information given on the figure of Hermas and for this reason alone the data cannot be biographical<sup>16</sup>. But the text is not intended to be an account of Hermas' whole life. All the things it tells about the person of Hermas are related in one way or another to the main issues of the text. What the relation was between Hermas and Rhode is introduced because the latter is the first person Hermas sees in his first vision. That Hermas possesses a piece of land is mentioned because the allegorical figure of the Church summons him to come there at the opening of the third vision. That Hermas was once rich and has now lost his or most of his wealth is stated because 'the rich and the poor' is one of the main topics of the Shepherd<sup>17</sup>. Of course, we would like to know more about Hermas. But it is useless to measure the reliability of the autobiographical information on the quantum of data, which is given in a text<sup>18</sup>.

For both Joly and Dibelius, a crucial point in the question whether the Shepherd contains autobiographical material is the scene at the very beginning, when Hermas sees Rhode, his former *patrona*, bathing in the Tiber and helps her out of the river. It would be indecent for a Christian

<sup>15</sup> M. DIBELIUS (n. 1), p. 419f. 423. 427-430. 445f.; R. JOLY (n. 1), p. 17-21.

<sup>16</sup> M. DIBELIUS (n. 1), p. 427.

<sup>17</sup> C. OSIEK, *The Rich and the Poor in the Shepherd of Hermas, An Exegetical-Social Investigation*, Washington 1983.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. M. LEUTZSCH, *Wahrnehmung* (n. 1), p. 27.

woman to bathe nakedly in public, they presume<sup>19</sup>. But it is nowhere stated that Rhode took her bath, say, under the Ponte degli Angeli in the middle of Rome. The bath-scene could have taken place everywhere at the river, and it may well have been a shielded, remote place where Rhode chose to go for a swim. Likewise the unchaste thoughts of Hermas need not be contradictory to the moral standards he later propagates himself. That Hermas falls short of these standards is an on-going issue in the Shepherd, if not a key theme of the complete text<sup>20</sup>.

To dismiss the whole scene as unreliable on the grounds that Hermas is attracted by Rhode's beauty although it was some years since he saw her the last time, i.e. although she had become older, raises the question whether there necessarily has to be a relationship between the age of a woman and her beauty. This may be a matter of individual preferences, but on the whole these kind of aesthetic judgments are insufficient arguments with regards to the authenticity of the scene<sup>21</sup>.

It may have become clear in the meantime that I hold the view that the albeit rudimentary life story the Shepherd tells about the main character is indeed the story the author tells about himself, and that it is authentic. There is one main reason why I favour this view. With his visionary book, especially with his message of a possible second repentance<sup>22</sup> and his perpetual critique of the unsocial behaviour of the rich<sup>23</sup>, the writer wanted to change deficiencies in the church of Rome. Hermas is called to some sort of public ministry at several instances in the text. In a more general sense he is the mediator of the shepherd who prompts Hermas «to go and tell everyone to repent» (*sim.* 8,11,1). But in the second vision he gets several fairly concrete missions and tasks to fulfil. In *vis.* 2,2,6 he is sent to tell «the leaders of the church to strengthen out their paths in righteousness»<sup>24</sup>. I guess, although they are called here

<sup>19</sup> M. DIBELIUS (n. 1), p. 428; R. JOLY (n. 1), p. 17; the same reservations has P. LAMPE (n. 1), p. 184 [219].

<sup>20</sup> Cf. M. LEUTZSCH, *Wahrnehmung* (n. 1), p. 30.

<sup>21</sup> M. DIBELIUS (n. 1), p. 428; R. JOLY (n. 1), p. 17. M. LEUTZSCH, *Wahrnehmung* (n. 1), p. 28 declares this argument as «peinlich». N. BROX (n. 1), p. 76 *contra* LEUTZSCH repeats the argument because at issue were motifs not *realia*. But M. LEUTZSCH *loc. cit.* has shown that there are no real motivic parallels for the bath-scene in the Shepherd.

<sup>22</sup> *Mand.* 4,3,4 with the commentaries ad loc.; also N. BROX (n. 1), p. 476-485, P. LAMPE (n. 1), p. 76f. [95-97].

<sup>23</sup> *Vis.* 1,1,8. 3,6,5-7. 3,9,3-6; *mand.* 6,2,5. 8,3. 10,1,4f. 12,2,1; *sim.* 1. 8,8,1. 9,20. 9,31.

<sup>24</sup> ἐρεῖς οὖν τοῖς προηγούμενοις τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἵνα κατορθώσωνται τὰς ὁδοὺς αὐτῶν ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ ...

προηγούμενοι, these are the *presbyteroi*, and that this is not a timeless instruction to those who will ever hold this office, but that the committee of the Roman *presbyteroi* is meant which was in office in Hermas' life-time. This gets support soon after this passage. In *vis.* 2,4,2, the elderly lady, the allegory of the Church, asks Hermas, if he has already handed over the book, which the lady has given him to copy it, to the elders, the πρεσβύτεροι. He has not yet, whereupon the lady says that he has done right because she wants to add more to the book. And then she gives him a very concrete instruction (*vis.* 2,4,3): «You will write two booklets [some translators translate βιβλαρίδια as 'copies' (Abschriften)<sup>25</sup>] and send one to Clement and one to Grapte. Clement shall send it to the other cities, for this is his charge. Grapte shall teach the widows and the orphans. But you shall read it in this city with the presbyters who preside the church!»<sup>26</sup> Whatever those βιβλαρίδια contained (part or the whole text of the Shepherd), and whoever Grapte and Clement were<sup>27</sup> — as Hermas wants to have his message publicized, the mentioning of Clement and Grapte only makes sense if these were real persons to whom he indeed later handed over the two copies and who were recognizable for the later readership or auditorium. Clement is commissioned to produce several copies and send them to other Christian congregations outside Rome. Grapte shall teach from the book. And Hermas himself shall read the book to the presbyters. Hermas evidently wanted to attain publicity for his writings. That he achieved this is perhaps best reflected in the unusually large numbers of manuscripts of the Shepherd<sup>28</sup>. So my main argument for the authenticity of the prosopographical data contained in the Shepherd is that the whole work aims at publicity and aims at

<sup>25</sup> Cf. N. BROX (n. 1), p. 104 *ad loc.*

<sup>26</sup> ἦλθεν ἡ πρεσβυτέρα καὶ ἠρώτησέν με εἰ ἤδη τὸ βιβλίον δέδωκα τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις. ἡρνησάμην δεδωκέναι. Καλῶς, φησίν, πεποίηκας· ἔχω γὰρ ῥήματα προσθεῖναι. ὅταν οὖν ἀποτελέσω τὰ ῥήματα πάντα, διὰ σοῦ γνωρισθήσεται τοῖς ἐκλεκτοῖς πᾶσιν. γράψεις οὖν δύο βιβλαρίδια καὶ πέμψεις ἐν Κλήμεντι καὶ ἐν Γραπτῇ. πέμψει οὖν Κλήμης εἰς τὰς ἑξὶ πόλεις, ἐκεῖνῳ γὰρ ἐπιτέτραπται. Γραπτὴ δὲ νουθετήσῃ τὰς χήρας καὶ τοὺς ὀρφανούς. σὺ δὲ ἀναγνώσῃ εἰς ταύτην τὴν πόλιν μετὰ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων τῶν προΐσταμένων τῆς ἐκκλησίας.

<sup>27</sup> It is not clear whether he is identical to the writer of the so-called first letter of Clement, although N. BROX (n. 1), p. 107 considers this to be a «vertretbare Hypothese», similarly C. OSIEK (n. 1), p. 59.

<sup>28</sup> Cf. Ph. HENNE, *Hermas en Égypte: la tradition manuscrite et l'unité rédactionnelle du Pasteur*, *CrSt* 11 (1990), p. 237-256. A chapter on the Hermas manuscripts will also to be found in the volume *Papyri from the rise of Christianity in Egypt*, currently in preparation by a team of scholars in the Department of Ancient History at Macquarie University Sydney.

changing real deficiencies. «The purpose of Hermas is to communicate a divinely authorized message to the church»<sup>29</sup>. This aim would have been immediately jeopardized, if he gave autobiographical data which the readers or hearers were able to recognize as inaccurate.

### III.2. *Hermas' biography*

So let's consider the stations of Hermas' life. As I said, I prefer not to make any statements concerning the 'reality' of Hermas' visions. The content of the visions as part of Hermas' world of thought and as a means of expressing his message is certainly important, but I am not sure if we can therefore say with Robin Lane Fox<sup>30</sup>, that Hermas «is the early Christian whom we know best after St. Paul». We know, for example, much more about the conversion of other early Christians, whereas Hermas leaves us in complete darkness about when (and how) he became a Christian.

#### III.2.1. From slave to freedman

The very first sentence already gives probably the most important information: Ὁ θρέψας με πέπρακέν με Ῥόδη τινὶ εἰς Ῥώμην – «The one who raised me sold me to a certain Rhode at Rome.» The term θρέψας makes clear that Hermas was a θρεπτός, a foster child. *Threptoi* need not necessarily be slaves, but Hermas was one, as becomes clear by the fact that he has been sold by his θρέψας. Teresa Giulia Nani has classified the slave *threptoi*, whom we know from numerous inscriptions, in three different categories<sup>31</sup>: (a) *threptoi alumni* or *expositi*;

<sup>29</sup> J.S. JEFFERS, *Conflict at Rome: Social Order and Hierarchy in Early Christianity*, Minneapolis 1991, p. 115.

<sup>30</sup> R. LANE FOX, *Pagans and Christians*, New York 1986, p. 381.

<sup>31</sup> T.G. NANI, ΘΡΕΠΤΟΙ, *Epigraphica* 5-6 (1943-44), p. 45-84, esp. p. 60-62. For an earlier important study on *threptoi* see A. CAMERON, ΘΡΕΠΤΟΣ and Related Terms in the Inscriptions of Asia Minor, in *Anatolian Studies presented to W.H. Buckler*, Manchester 1939, p. 27-62. The study of M. RICL, *Legal and Social Status of θρεπτοί and Related Categories in the Greek World: the Case of Phrygia*, in *Νεοελληνική κληρονομία στους Σέρβους I*, Belgrade 2005, p. 145-166, was inaccessible to me. Another study of her was still in press at the time of writing this article: M. RICL, *Legal and Social Status of θρεπτοί in Narrative and Documentary Sources*, in H.M. COTTON (ed.), *Epigraphy and Beyond: Cultural and Linguistic Change in the Near East from Hellenism to Islam*, Conference Jerusalem 2003. And she has announced yet another contribution: M. RICL, *Legal and Social Status of θρεπτοί and Related Categories in the Greek World: the Case of Lydia in the Roman Period*.



these are foundlings who have been exposed by their parents or their mother and kept by the finder as slaves; this was a well-known phenomenon; (b) *threptoi sanguinolenti* who are consanguineous with their *threpsas* and sprang from a relation between the patron and one of his slaves, his *ancillae*; (c) *threptoi oikogeneis*, who have been born as slaves in the house of the master. To which of the three categories Hermas belongs does not become evident from the text. Lampe, Leutzsch, Brox, and similarly Joly, think he was a house-born slave, an *oikogenes*<sup>32</sup>. English-speaking scholars like Lane Fox and Osiek regard him as a foundling<sup>33</sup>, and I am inclined to support the view that Hermas was an exposed child. My main argument for doing so is a famous passage from the letters of Pliny to Trajan. Pliny asked the emperor for directions regarding a serious problem, a *magna quaestio*, which concerned «the status and cost of maintenance of those called *threptoi*». Pliny uses the Greek term here, and from the context it becomes clear that he refers to foundlings. Indeed, this understanding of the term is confirmed by the emperor's reply, who defines *threptoi* as «free persons who were exposed at birth, but then brought up in slavery by those who rescued them»<sup>34</sup>. As Pliny's correspondence with Trajan is virtually contemporaneous with the Shepherd and shows how the term *threptos* apparently is most commonly understood, I consider it very likely that Hermas also was a foundling, raised by an anonymous master about whom Hermas does not tell us anything.

Hermas also does not tell us where he spent the first years of his life. That he lived in Judaea, as one scholar believed, is a mere guess: which was, by the way, retracted by the same scholar later<sup>35</sup>. The passing mention of Arcadia is also not helpful. The name Hermas is well attested throughout mainland Greece, the islands and Asia Minor<sup>36</sup>. But the name

<sup>32</sup> P. LAMPE (n. 1), p. 182 [218]; M. LEUTZSCH, *Wahrnehmung* (n. 1), p. 139; N. BROX (n. 1), p. 78f.; similarly R. JOLY (n. 1), p. 76 n. 1.

<sup>33</sup> R. LANE FOX (n. 33), p. 382; C. OSIEK (n. 1), p. 42.

<sup>34</sup> Plinius, *ep.* X 65.1: ... *de condicione et alimentis eorum quos vocant θρεπτοὺς ...*; 66.1: ... *liberi nati expositi, deinde sublati a quibusdam et in servitute educati sunt ...*

<sup>35</sup> E. PETERSON, *Kritische Analyse der fünften Vision des Hermas* (orig. 1958), in *id.*, *Frühkirche, Judentum und Gnosis. Studien und Untersuchungen*, Rom etc. 1959 (repr. 1982), p. 274f., 282-284; the *retractatio* *id.*, *Giudaismo e Cristianesimo: culto giudaico e culto cristiano*, RSLR 1, 1965, 381.

<sup>36</sup> As a search for this name on the Packard Humanities Institute website can easily prove (<http://epigraphy.packhum.org/inscriptions>, 06/05/2008).

is also attested in Rome<sup>37</sup>, and it may well be that Hermas grew up there, if εἰς Ῥώμην does not mean that he has been sold 'to Rome', but 'in Rome' or 'at Rome'. Hermas often uses εἰς instead of ἐν<sup>38</sup>.

What kind of education did Hermas enjoy? Slave children were regularly educated<sup>39</sup>, and Hermas definitely learned reading and writing. But apart from that, nothing specific can be deduced from the text. It may be that he was trained in calculating and learned some administrative skills to later perform the task of a steward like a *vilicus* or even a *procurator* of his master. Maybe he also gained some agricultural knowledge. How long he stayed with his first patron and in what age he was sold to Rhode also remains obscure, but I would assume that the sale took place before Hermas reached adulthood at the age of fourteen<sup>40</sup>. What kind of jobs he administered for his new master Rhode, also remains in the realm of speculation.

A crucial question, even a key question is what happened to Hermas after he served Rhode. Osiek believes, that Hermas was later resold by Rhode to another owner by whom he was then manumitted. Osiek's main argument for this assumption is that Hermas in *vis.* 1,1,2 states that he re-encountered Rhode only «many years later»<sup>41</sup>, and that this would be impossible had he been manumitted by Rhode, because the regular duties, the *operae libertorum*, a freedman had to fulfil for his former patron, would require regular encounters. Indeed these duties were legal obligations, and the juristic texts are our main source for the *operae libertorum*<sup>42</sup>. But in an important article, originally from 1981, Peter

<sup>37</sup> H. SOLIN, *Die griechischen Personennamen in Rom: ein Namenbuch (Corpus inscriptionum Latinarum, Auctarium II 1)*, Berlin 2003<sup>2</sup>, p. 364.

<sup>38</sup> A. HILHORST, *Sémitismes et latinismes dans le Pasteur d'Hermas*, Nijmegen 1976, p. 25-27. 32.

<sup>39</sup> Cf. S.L. MOHLER, *Slave Education in the Roman Empire*, *TAPhA* 71 (1940), p. 262-280; A.D. BOOTH, *The Schooling of Slaves in First-Century Rome*, *TAPhA* 109 (1979), p. 11-19; E. HERRMANN-OTTO, *Ex ancilla natus: Untersuchungen zu den "hausgeborenen" Sklaven und Sklavinnen im Westen des römischen Kaiserreiches (Forschungen zur antiken Sklaverei, 24)*, Stuttgart 1994, p. 314-323.

<sup>40</sup> J.A. STRAUS, *L'achat et la vente des esclaves dans l'Égypte romaine: contribution papyrologique à l'étude de l'esclavage dans une province orientale de l'empire romain (Archiv für Papyrusforschung, Beiheft 14)*, München-Leipzig 2004, p. 262-268, esp. 266, displays that most of the male slaves were sold up to the age of ten years.

<sup>41</sup> So C. OSIEK (n. 1), p. 42, whereas on p. 43 she translates μετὰ χρόνον τινά with «after some time»

<sup>42</sup> Cf. W. WALDSTEIN, *Operae libertorum: Untersuchungen zur Dienstpflcht freigelassener Sklaven (Forschungen zur antiken Sklaverei, 19)*, Stuttgart 1986.

Garnsey argued that there must have been freedmen who, although their former master was still alive, acted independently and were not merely the agents of their patrons but were able to engage in business on their own behalf<sup>43</sup>. These 'independent freedmen' presumably were exempt from the *operae libertorum*<sup>44</sup>. There has not been much further research done along these lines, partly because of the difficulty of drawing a clear distinction in the sources between who is an independent freedman and who acts as agent of his patron. And even for Garnsey, who had to rely mainly on legal sources, it was not easy to draw the line. But in Hermas' case Garnsey's category of the 'independent freedmen' seems to be a very helpful analytical tool. It explains why Hermas did not see Rhode for many years, and it makes the supposition that he was resold by Rhode to another owner obsolete.

We can therefore conclude that Hermas was manumitted by Rhode during her lifetime. This is important to mention, because freedmen who achieved some wealth (as Hermas did) were often manumitted through *manumissio ex testamento* and became the heirs of their well off but childless masters<sup>45</sup>. A famous and illustrative example is the fictitious figure of Trimalchio in Petronius' *Satyricon*. Trimalchio was his wealthy master's book-keeper and favourite (in many senses) and inherited the riches of his patron after he died without an heir<sup>46</sup>. That Trimalchio's story is of course an outright exaggeration and a brilliant social satire by Petronius on the *nouveaux riches*, does not necessarily mean that his case does not have several typical traits as Paul Veyne has shown in what is perhaps one of the most interesting contributions to the field of ancient history ever written<sup>47</sup>. Hermas, however, lacked the advantageous starting position of his famous even though fictitious *collibertus*, but nevertheless Hermas must have accumulated some considerable money when he was still a slave, because he must have been able to pay the required manumission fee, and he must have had enough money at his disposal immediately after he became a freedman either to invest his

<sup>43</sup> P. GARNSEY, *Independent Freedmen and the Economy of Roman Italy under the Principate*, in ID., *Cities, Peasants and Food in Classical Antiquity*, ed. with addenda by W. SCHEIDEL, Cambridge 1998, p. 28-44 (orig. in: *Klio* 63 [1981], p. 359-371).

<sup>44</sup> On exemptions from the *operae libertorum* cf. W. WALDSTEIN (n. 42), p. 170-172.

<sup>45</sup> P. VEYNE, *Das Leben des Trimalchio*, in ID., *Die römische Gesellschaft*, München 1995, p. 9-50 (orig.: *La vie de Trimalcion*, *Annales ESC* 16 [1961], p. 213-247) esp. p. 15. 19-20; P. GARNSEY (n. 43), p. 29.

<sup>46</sup> Petronius, *sat.* 29,4. 75,11-76,2.

<sup>47</sup> P. VEYNE (n. 45), *passim*.

money or start a business or whatever he did. Which brings us to the question: What did he do as a freedman?

### III.2.2. Hermas, a rich freedman

What is most certain is that Hermas became wealthy — and at the time of writing the Shepherd had lost his wealth. This can be clearly deduced from two little words which the allegorical figure of the elderly lady speaks to Hermas: «ὅτε ἐπλούτεις — when you were rich» (*vis.* 3,6,7). I do think that this means he was really rich, at least wealthier than the average, and therefore could serve as a fine example of a rich freedman who climbed up the social ladder by accumulating a considerable fortune<sup>48</sup>. How Hermas became wealthy is far more difficult to detect. There are several allusions to his involvement in business affairs, his *πραγματεῖται* (*vis.* 2,3,1; *mand.* 3,5). But what was his business? It can be assumed that Hermas did not start as a farmer, or at least that he did not gain his riches through farming. Neither can those attempts be regarded as especially fruitful, which have sought to deduce the kind of Hermas' business from the different occupations, which we find scattered in his text. We see a smith hammering at his work (*vis.* 1,3,2), and a fuller, who gives back a new piece of clothing torn and causes the anger of his customer (*sim.* 9,32,3). We see a cellarer, who is responsible for storing wine or oil. Lampe makes much of the fact that this is mentioned twice, and ponders whether Hermas traded with oil or wine<sup>49</sup>. We also see a beekeeper at work (*mand.* 5,1,5), which Lampe does not mention, and others saw in Hermas the owner of a building company<sup>50</sup> because he allegedly showed some insight in that business, which is *a fortiori* doubtful, given that the foundation of the tower in *sim.* 9,5,4 is very slender at the bottom and becomes wider at the top. And Hermas himself confesses in *sim.* 9,9,2 that he does not have any building skills, and he is no stonemason. But anyway, all or most of these professions serve as metaphorical examples and it would be daring to reason from these examples on Hermas' business. McKechnie suggests that Hermas was in the money lending business and refers to the analogous example

<sup>48</sup> Nothing speaks for the assumption that Hermas was just a «small businessman» as N. BROX (n. 1), p. 17, R. JOLY (n. 1), p. 17-21, and A. HILHORST, *Hermas*, RAC XIV (1983), p. 683, think.

<sup>49</sup> P. LAMPE (n. 1), p. 187 [222].

<sup>50</sup> R. STAATS, *Hermas*, TRE XV (1986), p. 103.

of the later Roman bishop Callixtus, who also was a former slave<sup>51</sup>. This is possible. To my mind comes another more profane analogy, again provided by the story of Trimalchio<sup>52</sup>.

Trimalchio, after he became the heir of his master's fortune, acts like a good capitalist and invests his riches as venture capital. In his case he invests in the trading business, builds five ships and loads them with wine. They all sank, and, Trimalchio says, «Neptune gulped down 30 million in one day»<sup>53</sup>. But he didn't lose heart. It was as if nothing had happened. These were just peanuts. Trimalchio built even more, bigger, better and more expensive ships, and got another cargo of wine, plus bacon, beans, perfumes, and slaves, all presumably expensive goods. This time he made a profit of ten million on one voyage. Trimalchio's example may not provide a full parallel to Hermas. But it may well be that Hermas also gambled with venture capital and got some profit from that.

The story of Trimalchio might also explain why Hermas possessed an estate. For what did Trimalchio do after the tremendous enlargement of his riches? The capitalist became a landowner and invested his money in estates, built a house and bought slaves and cattle. In doing so, he adapted the *habitus* of a typical Roman upper-class member, and conformed to Roman values, which always estimated the landowner highest and regarded the involvement in financial affairs as something inferior. Only *otium* and the possession of land confer nobility<sup>54</sup>. It seems that Hermas for exactly the same reason became a landowner. It is very probable that for Hermas the motive behind this act was also to gain acceptance in the circles of the better off and become friends with them — an attitude, which is criticized heavily in the Shepherd; see only *mand.* 10,1,4 the noteworthy juxtaposition of those who are «embroiled in business, wealth and pagan friendships»<sup>55</sup>, which serves as an illuminating hint to the concern of status and an illustrative description of those who strived for social acceptance. After Hermas lost his wealth, he at least was able to retain his or some of the land he possessed. This is evidently the piece of land at the *via Campana* (*vis.* 4,1,2).

<sup>51</sup> P. McKECHNIE, *Business and Wealth in the Shepherd of Hermas*, *Classicum* 34 (2008) (forthcoming).

<sup>52</sup> Petronius, *sat.* 76 is the key chapter for what follows.

<sup>53</sup> Petronius, *sat.* 76.4.

<sup>54</sup> P. VEYNE (n. 45), p. 9.

<sup>55</sup> ἐμπεφυρμένοι δὲ πραγματείας καὶ πλούτῳ καὶ φιλίας ἐθνικαῖς.

Indeed the story of Trimalchio might also provide a parallel for McKechnie's suggestion that Hermas was in the money lending business. When Trimalchio, as he says, «came to have more money than the whole revenues of his home country» (which is Asia Minor) and retired from all other business, he began to lend money at interest. So it is possible, though not provable, that Hermas did the same. In the end we get only two specific details about Hermas' business from the Shepherd: he was involved in «evil affairs – πονηραὶ πραγματεῖαι» (*vis.* 2,3,1), and that he used to lie in his business affairs (*mand.* 3,5). Which may both also be fitting for the bank business.

### III.2.3. How did Hermas lose his wealth?

Again we get no unambiguous information about that. Several scholars suppose his economic debacle was caused by a 'persecution'<sup>56</sup>. But one has to say that the whole concept of 'persecution' is somewhat misleading. Scholars, when they write about such things as a 'Trajanic persecution', still tend to imply that this was a specific period ('under Trajan') of an empire wide persecution. The same is true for 'Hadrianic persecution' and so on. In my opinion this is a misconception<sup>57</sup>. There never was such a thing as a 'Trajanic' or 'Hadrianic persecution'. What happened under Trajan was that in a city in Bithynia Christians were brought to court and sentenced to death because they were Christians. One may call this an act of persecution. But the Trajanic rescript (what it technically was) preserved in Plin., *ep.* X 97, also stated that the Christians must not be ferreted out, *conquirendi non sunt*, which means that public authorities were even forbidden to take the initiative. So what we call 'persecution', in the time before Decius was always something, which was very restricted in local terms, confined to one city<sup>58</sup> — and even then it does not mean that all Christians of one city were 'persecuted'. Sometimes the accusation against a Christian, which caused the juridical process, had very personal reasons, as the prehistory of the process

<sup>56</sup> N. BROX (n. 1), p. 17; P. LAMPE (n. 1), p. 188 [223].

<sup>57</sup> Against the schematic view of 'persecutions' see already the polemic in Augustinus, *civ. dei* XVIII 52. Slight concerns regarding the concept of 'persecution' only in C. OSIEK (n. 1), p. 20 n. 150.

<sup>58</sup> Most clearly expressed in F. VITTINGHOFF, "Christianus sum": das "Verbrechen" von Aussenseitern der römischen Gesellschaft, *Historia* 33 (1984), p. 331-357 esp. p. 332-335.

against the martyr Justin exhibits. For most of the time most of the Christians lived a more or less normal life, apart from being Christians. This is not to deny that their juridical position was precarious since the Trajanic rescript, and it does not diminish the horrors of such massacres like the one in Lyons in 177.

For Hermas this means we cannot ascribe the loss of his wealth to 'the Trajanic persecution'<sup>59</sup>. Moreover, if Hermas was accused as a Christian and brought to court at all (this would be the typical form of 'persecution' in the period between Trajan and Decius), then he would have lost not only his possessions but also his life. Because this was the well-known outcome to which the martyr-acts and other sources clearly testify, as long as the accused Christians didn't renounce their Christian allegiance. Before the Decian period, there are only a very small number of cases of Christians, who survived the lawsuit without renouncing their faith, and they come from obscure sources. So for this reason alone I doubt, that the indeed unsettling passage in which Hermas' children are accused to have betrayed their parents (*vis.* 2,2,2), must mean that «the children have betrayed their parents to the public authorities»<sup>60</sup>. As the passage starts in declaring that Hermas' offspring «have renounced God [and] blasphemed against the Lord» the 'betrayal' in my opinion can allude to any sort of public un-Christian behaviour, and as the passage continues, that they «added to their sins deeds of licentiousness and accumulated wickedness», sexual misbehaving cannot be excluded. So I do not think that Hermas lost his wealth because he was in any sense persecuted as a Christian. It may be that his children's behaviour had a direct impact on his bankruptcy<sup>61</sup>, but it may also be that his business just failed and he was not able to bolster the sinking of five ships on one day like Trimalchio. That's how business can go. About one of the freedmen friends with whom Trimalchio banquets it is stated that his business failed and that he is now bankrupt. «I believe he cannot call his hair his own», says one of the dinner guests<sup>62</sup>.

So whatever caused the loss of his wealth, at the time of writing the Shepherd Hermas has fallen off the famous and much written-on class of the rich freedmen and has been reduced to the status of a small landowner

<sup>59</sup> P. LAMPE (n. 1), p. 188 [223].

<sup>60</sup> N. BROX (n. 1), p. 17, cf. P. LAMPE (n. 1), p. 187 [223]; but cf. C. OSIEK (n. 1), p. 54.

<sup>61</sup> N. BROX (n. 1), p. 17.

<sup>62</sup> Petronius, *sat.* 38.12.

who tills his acre. But perhaps he had not become so poor that he had to live on subsistence farming. It seemed that he cultivated groat or similar coarse corn, if this is what *χόνδριζεις* (*vis.* 3,1,2)<sup>63</sup> means, and he probably produced more than he needed for himself. But we do not hear much more about Hermas as a landowner. Lampe's consideration<sup>64</sup>, that Hermas with his cultivation of groat wanted to propagate symbolically the virtue of a simple and frugal life, and thereby emphasized his polemic against the luxury on the tables of rich Christians (e. g. *mand.* 6,2,5), is attractive but perhaps over-interprets the case.

#### IV. HERMAS' BIOGRAPHY AND THE MESSAGE OF THE SHEPHERD

We want to conclude with two general thoughts. One wonders whether the whole criticism of the unsocial behaviour of rich Christians in the Shepherd is caused by and possibly only understandable against the backdrop of Hermas' personal biography<sup>65</sup>. Hermas was a social climber. He skyrocketed the social ladder from being a social outcast to the illustrious ranks of rich freedmen. Indeed, this is a rare, perhaps the only instance in which we can identify an individual example of Garnsey's independent freedmen. Hermas experienced a steep ascension, and underwent a deep fall. Of course, to criticize the unsocial behaviour of wealthy Christians (and non-Christians, by the way), who possess more than they need, indulge themselves in luxury and do not share their riches with the needy, is the right thing to do for a Christian. The Bible is full of examples of this attitude. But it is not that you find a criticism of the wealthy on every page of the Bible whereas in the Shepherd, this is a recurrent theme, almost tediously recurrent. It might be that this is Hermas' way of dealing with his own past. The most radical non-smokers are the former smokers. This might also explain Hermas' slightly 'legalistic' attitude.

Secondly, I am inclined to say, that we do have the chance to study not only social upward mobility but also have the rare chance to study

<sup>63</sup> This, apparently a *hapax legomenon*, is the reading of the *prima manus* of the Codex Sinaiticus, which most editors follow. The younger manuscripts read *χρονίζεις*.

<sup>64</sup> P. LAMPE (n. 1), p. 186 [222].

<sup>65</sup> Cf. P. LAMPE (n. 1), p. 188-191 [224-226], who also analyses the «correspondences between Hermas' life and his ethical and theological thought».



social downward mobility in such an individual case is only possible because Hermas was a Christian. Who else in antiquity would dare to lay bare publicly his own social decline?

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## ENCROACHMENT IN THE EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN BETWEEN THE FOURTH AND THE SEVENTH CENTURY AD

*Abstract:* Encroachment, or the usurpation of public space by secondary structures, is nowadays often considered indicative of economic prosperity. This opinion is largely based on laws and literary sources, whereas many archaeological remains are still categorised as the houses of squatters. This article considers mainly archaeological sources which show the evolution of encroachment throughout Late Antiquity. An overview of its topographical settings within the city and its connection to other buildings is offered, together with an assessment of its appearance and function. These elements are then used to establish the degree of public involvement in its construction and to explain the chronological and topographical spread of encroachment.

### INTRODUCTION

The term ‘encroachment’ is used to indicate the usurpation and subdivision of public space by smaller structures. Encroachment is found both in colonnaded streets and in narrow alleys, on public squares, inside and adjoining public buildings and monuments. Whereas the occurrence of such secondary structures has long been considered indicative of the degeneration of the Roman city under Arab rule, it did in fact already appear in the fourth century AD, all over the Roman Empire<sup>1</sup>. Today, encroachment is considered typical of the late antique and early Byzantine city, and no longer necessarily indicative of decline, but also of economic growth (Kennedy 1985a, 17, 22-26; Ward-Perkins 1998, 382). This article will assess the occurrence of encroachment in the Eastern Mediterranean between the fourth and the seventh century AD by reviewing the archaeological evidence of seven towns, Ephesus, Sardis, Hierapolis, Sagalassos, Antioch-on-the-Orontes, Apamea-on-the-Orontes and Gerasa. An attempt will be made to compare the appearance and acceleration of

<sup>1</sup> Original reception, see SAUVAGET 1934, 100, fig. 8. Both ELLIS 1988, 566-567 and SARADI 1998, 17-18 stressed the early moment of its appearance. For encroachment in general, see recently SARADI 2006, especially 186-207 containing an overview of literary sources. For examples from the West-Roman Empire, see KEAY 1996, 36; LOSEBY 1996, 52-54; ROSKAMS 1996, 259; for North-Africa, see POTTER 1995; WILSON 2001; LEONE 2003, 274-282.

the phenomenon in these cities, to describe it in terms of form, measurements and materials used, to establish its overall development in terms of dating and location, to establish the diverse public and private functions of smaller structures encroaching on public space and to connect their presence with changes in the late antique and early Byzantine society.

An all-comprising study of encroachment faces several difficulties. First of all, the nature of the structures themselves causes problems. Due to their manner and quality of construction, their preservation is often fragmentary. Dating is difficult or even impossible due to the lack of datable material, for instance when the new occupants used the existing street pavement or the original floor as foundation for new walls. For structures in wood or other perishable materials, even attesting their presence is problematic (cf. *infra*). Secondly, as so many other post-Roman remains, encroachment-structures suffered severely from deficient excavation techniques and from the excavators' wish to expose the attractive classical city and make it accessible for tourism. Walls made of rubble or an amalgam of building materials are unattractive to both sponsors and tourists, whereas the search for postholes and earthen walking levels is time-consuming and expensive. In the past (and present?) this has led to speedy excavations and the removal of minor structures. As a consequence, especially in towns where excavations were started a long time ago, a large part of the encroachment has disappeared without leaving any record.

#### ENCROACHMENT THROUGH TIME

In the following section, an evolutionary sketch of encroachment encountered in the seven case-studies is provided<sup>2</sup>. For reasons of convenience, the long period under research was by means of a trial-and-error-process divided into four phases, which group instances of encroachment of similar nature. The first phase ends around AD 300, the traditional date for the beginning of Late Antiquity; the second ranges from AD 300 to

<sup>2</sup> Though many more examples were originally collected and discussed, for the purpose of this article a selection has been made. Figures 1, 4-6 and 9-10 used in the text are copyrighted by the Sagalassos Project; Figures 2 and 11 courtesy of the American Schools of Oriental Research; Figure 3 courtesy of the Austrian Academy of Sciences; Figures 8 and 9, photos by the author.

450/75; the third ends in AD 550/75. The final phase comprises the second half of the sixth century, the years that are considered to have been decisive in the decline of the Roman Empire, and ends between the late sixth, early seventh century and AD 635/50, when the Semitic provinces of the Near East and Asia Minor were invaded by the Persians and a few decades later by the Arabs, and cities as Sagalassos and Hierapolis were severely damaged by natural phenomena.

### *Encroachment before AD 300*

The oldest instances of encroachment attested today were not located on larger public spaces, but in smaller streets. Already in the first century, the owner of Terrace House 2, Unit 1 at Ephesus incorporated a small section of the narrow alley in between both Terrace Houses. This example was followed by the owners of other units (Wiplinger 2002, 69-76; Thür 2002, 47-59, 61). All streets, both large and small, were public spaces guarded from private interventions by imperial legislation (*CJ* VIII, 11, 20 [AD 439]; Saradi 2006, 204-206). Nevertheless, the public character of a monumental colonnaded street is far more evident than that of a narrow and stepped alley only used by a limited public.

By AD 300, also some monuments in Ephesus and Gerasa had already been usurped for other activities than those originally intended. After the roof of the Celsus Library had collapsed during an earthquake in AD 262, a civilian incorporated the monument into his house (Alzinger 1971, 1632; Hueber en Strocka 1975, 5; Foss 1979, 65). When the south-western part of the hippodrome at Gerasa collapsed in the second half of the third century AD and horse races could no longer be held, its northern part was converted into an arena, whereas in the south an industrial centre was established. The new inhabitants adjusted the substructures of the building to their needs by introducing new, sloppy walls incorporating spolia from the hippodrome, installing ceilings and laying stone or brick floors (Müller 1938, 90-92; Ostrasz 1989, 55; Ostrasz 1991, 240; De Vries and Bikai 1993, 499; Bikai en Kooring 1995, 525-526; Kehrberg and Ostrasz 1997, 169-170).

In this period one would not expect public buildings to be converted for private means. The reasons were mainly local and, as at Gerasa, self-explanatory: when the hippodrome could no longer fulfil its original purpose, the substructure could be given a new function immediately. In Ephesus, public activities between the mid third and the later fourth

century in general are largely unknown. Nevertheless, in the following period, far more public buildings were converted for new purposes.

*Encroachment between 300 and 450/75*

Private usurpations now also appeared on larger streets. At Sagalassos, modest habitations installed on both sides of the Neon Library also extended onto the newly laid mosaic of the portico in front (Figure 1; Waelkens *et al.* 1995, 59-60; 1997, 120-125). The earliest evidence for encroachment in a city centre is found at Sardis on the plaza located on the crossing of two main streets in sector MMS/N. Underneath the later phases of the southern portico, foundations belonging to a late fourth-century latrine and several modest structures, presumably shops, were encountered. These constructions were again dismantled when a new portico was installed just after AD 400 (Greenewalt, Ratté and Rautman 1994, 4; 1995, 7). When, also around AD 400, the portico and shopping complex along the Marble Road were rebuilt, a side entrance to the bath-gymnasium complex was converted into shop E3 (Crawford 1990, 51-52). Presumably the extensions of the shops near the Cathedral complex along the *cardo* at Gerasa also belong to this period (Figure 2). The seventh-century date originally suggested by the excavators is not convincing: not only was the street already in disrepair at that time (Ball *et al.* 1986, 331-393), but the coins found within the original shops all belong to the fifth and sixth centuries (Crowfoot 1938, 204). Moreover, the added rooms displayed a sense of order and regularity and did not pass the imaginary line formed by the nymphaeum basin they abutted in the north.

Ephesus was struck by another series of earthquakes between AD 358 and 368. For a few decades, the condition of the Library Square was deplorable: breaks in the water conduit caused the water to run down the Stiegengassen, over the Library Square and towards the Agora. A series of water mills was built, the lowest in front of the Celsus Library (Hueber 1997a, 260-261; 1997b, 269). However, by the late fourth century, Ephesus was again rising from its ashes. The promotion of the Embolos as the new commercial, social and political centre of the city caused the removal of earlier usurpations and a general revalidation of the Library Square (Bauer 1996, 280-282 and Thür 1999, 107, both with further bibliography). The street's commercial function was extended in all directions: in the Embolos itself, the original row of *tabernae* in front

of the Terrace Houses was extended with two extra shops that blocked Stiegengasse 1 (Eichler 1961, 69; 1963, 54; Vettters 1977, 18; Ladstätter 2002, 35), in the Ortygia Street to the west, shops were installed on the road surface (Figure 3; Vettters 1979, 126-127), whereas at the other end, in the Domitian Street, shops were given front rooms. In the last street, great attention was paid to a tidy and coherent appearance: a marble façade was applied against the shops on both sides of the street and the southern shops did not extend beyond the new frontage (Vettters 1972-1975, 311-320). Though various dates have been suggested, these extensions probably belonged to the later fourth century<sup>3</sup>. The spaces on the Ortygia Street were far more irregular: both new street fronts were built up out of several sections, and, mainly on the southern side of the street, with varying widths. The spaces in the north were added one by one, the most eastern being the last addition.

Already around AD 400, encroachment was thus very much present in the main streets of Ephesus. Libanius testifies to the presence of private constructions in the colonnaded streets of Antioch in the second half of the fourth century, where they apparently formed an unusual, but welcome addition to the city revenues (Libanius, *Orationes* XXVI, 20-22). Imperial edicts forbade to erect such structures in Constantinople<sup>4</sup>. Encroachment did not therefore first appear in small provincial towns, while the larger cities retained their regular and orderly appearance for a longer period.

Though public squares in general underwent few changes in this period, the character of the Agora at Hierapolis was drastically altered. It had been severely damaged by an earthquake around AD 350. The town itself was rebuilt, though without the imperial intervention it had enjoyed in the past. Its new, late fourth, early fifth-century fortification wall excluded the Agora, which was subsequently turned into a residential and artisanal quarter, where both lime burning and ceramic production

<sup>3</sup> EICHLER (1961, 73) dates these changes in the second half of the fourth century, VETTERS (1972-1975, 321) pushed it forward to the post-Justinian period. A date in the late fourth, early fifth century is supported by the following arguments: the wall technique used was applied by the end of the fourth century, the level rise of the street can best be explained as a levelling of earthquake rubble; as there has been little activity attested in this quarter in the second half of the sixth century, an extension of a row of shops is hard to explain.

<sup>4</sup> E.g., *CTh* XV 1.39 = *CJ* VIII 11.14 (398); *CTh* XV 1.25 (389); *CJ* VIII 10.12 (reign of Zeno, 474-491); *CTh* XV 1.46 = *CJ* VIII 10.9 (406). *CTh* XV 1.47 (409) mentions usurpations on the grounds of the imperial palace.

took place (de Bernardi Ferrero 1984, 436; 1985, 502; 1986, 194; 1987, 226; 1988, 294; 1989, 246; 1990, 226-227; 1995, 96; Gates 1994, 277; D'Andria 2001, 104-108, 112-113; Whittow 2001, 140-141). This conversion caused further changes to the shops along Frontinus Street, which were no longer used for commercial purposes but turned into houses that also extended onto the square, and to the large latrine along the street, which thereafter functioned as stable, residence and ceramic workshop (de Bernardi Ferrero 1989, 246; 1990, 226-227; 1995, 97; 1996, 87; 1997, 238-239).

In the course of the fourth century, the residential area to the west of the Church of Theodore at Gerasa was developing quickly. Originally, a smaller street connected the Sanctuary of Artemis to the southern *decumanus*. Already in the third century, it was partially obstructed by the construction of a large cistern and the dumping of the excavated earth on top of the road surface. In the course of the fourth century, the remaining street surface was incorporated into several houses (Fisher 1938a, 281-294). By this time, the Sanctuary of Artemis had fallen from use so that the connection to the *decumanus* lost much of its meaning anyway. The subdivision of another alley to the south of the sanctuary was no doubt brought about by the same reason (Fisher 1938a, 271-272). At Sagalassos, a large urban villa located along the major north-south axis of the town extended onto the street in the early fourth century (Figure 4; Martens 2007, 352; Uytterhoeven and Martens *forthcoming*). Its annexes were narrow spaces which only took in a minimal part of the road, thus causing little disruption to traffic. They are very similar to the sixth-century extensions of some large residences at Apamea (cf. *infra*), and can be attributed to the original owners<sup>5</sup>.

In addition to usurpations of public infrastructure, many public buildings were also taken over in this period. The Harbour Gymnasium and the Halls of Verulanus at Ephesus were not reconstructed after the mid fourth-century earthquakes. Instead, a residential area arose, comprising houses of different sizes and gradations of wealth (Alzinger 1971, 1609-1611; Scherrer 1995, 178; Keil 1964, 76, 80; Foss 1977, 472; 1979, 60). In the early fourth century, Temple C at Gerasa, located amidst a residential area, was turned into a house by subdividing the porticoes of the *peristylum* (Fisher and Kraeling 1938; Fisher 1938a, 287-289). At the end of the century, the *temenos* of the Artemis Temple was converted

<sup>5</sup> Cf. *infra*.

into a building yard, where temple spolia were reworked before being taken to a new destination; occupants moved into the southern portico, which, not coincidentally, was located just north of the cited residential area<sup>6</sup>. Also at the Sanctuary of Zeus, artisanal activity apparently began already in the fourth century (Seigne 1989, 48). Around AD 400, Sagalassos was surrounded by a new fortification wall, incorporating both the Doric Temple and the North West Heroon of the city (Waelkens *et al.* 2000a, 246; 2000b, 560; Loots, Waelkens and Depuydt 2000, 619-626). Subsequently, two smaller structures for water supply were installed against the Heroon (Martens 2001, 69, nota 103; Waelkens *et al.* 2000b, 561). The poorly-preserved structure in front of the monument may have had a guard function as it was situated just behind the new city gate (Waelkens *et al.* 1997, 187-188; 2000b, 561). Finally, on the *temenos* of the city's temple devoted to Hadrian and Antoninus Pius, smaller structures were built (Waelkens *et al.* 2005, 427-428).

With the exception of temples, most public buildings were still in use by the mid fifth century, even though the city had problems maintaining them due to its financial situation and the first subdivisions would already appear. At the Halls of Verulanus at Ephesus and the Agora at Hierapolis the decision not to rebuild must have been taken at a higher level. A provincial capital as Ephesus was large enough to attract imperial attention, for instance visible in the construction of the Baths of Constantius, but here too reconstruction was slow. It is possible that in both cases ideological motives and an altered vision on pagan cults and sporting culture played a part. As both cities were bishop's sees and all fourth-century emperors, with one exception, were Christians, investment in complexes associated with the old pagan tradition are not to be expected. Finally, the location of the Halls in the centre of the city, between the Harbour and the Tetragonos Agora, may have been decisive in their re-designation.

The growing influence of Christianity certainly played a role in the decay of buildings of the traditional cult, so that space again became available in the centre of the cities. Most temple conversions — for private use, not for ecclesiastical purposes — can be placed in the 150 years after Constantine.

<sup>6</sup> Artisanal activities, see BIKAI and EGAN 1997, 522; PIEROBON 1983-1984, 91-92; SEIGNE 2002, 205-213; encroachment in portico, FISHER and MCCOWN 1929-1930, 22.



*Encroachment between AD 450/75 en 550/75*

The encroachment in main streets accelerated in this period. The function of the new constructions can however only rarely be identified with certainty. In the columnar hall between the Tetragonos Agora and the Marble Street at Ephesus, a peristyle courtyard, private or public, was established. The northern section of this hall had already been converted into a separate space by blocking the intercolumnia of the Marble Street and separating it from the main hall, after which it had been lavishly decorated (Wilberg and Keil 1923, 82; Foss 1979, 63; Vettters 1987, 81; Scherrer 1995, 144). As the columnar hall was used to display law texts and acclamatory inscriptions up to the seventh century, it had clearly not lost its importance (Whittow 2001, 47). The appearance of the colonnaded street to the south of the State Agora changed more drastically when smaller constructions appeared both inside the colonnades and, probably in the following phase, also on the road surface itself (Eichler 1963, 57-59; 1965, 97; 1966, 8-9; Foss 1979, 78-79). Likewise, underneath the portico of the spacious colonnaded street running through sector MMS at Sardis, excavators encountered only one small early sixth-century structure made of dry rubble, but also many single strata interrupted by pits or spots of plaster and mortar (Greenewalt, Ratté and Rautman 1994, 12; 1995, 6-7). The first have been identified as cooking installations, the last as remains of individual floors.

In Sagalassos also, encroachment accelerated, most likely after an earthquake in the early sixth century. At two locations, the street was made narrower, while elsewhere small structures with an unknown function were erected (Martens 2007, 347-351). In this period, many of the town's market places were partly or completely usurped. For instance, the western portico of the Upper Agora was converted into shops and workshops, probably in the second half of the fifth century (Figures 5 and 6; Waelkens *et al.* 2002, 12; 2006, 236-237). Some years before, a church had been constructed inside the courtyard of the former Bouleuterion on the terrace just above the portico. In the early sixth century, the portico area was reorganised; it was now dominated by a monumental flight of steps leading up from the Agora to the atrium of the Church. To the south of this staircase the portico was again subdivided into several small rooms; to the north, the fifth-century workshops were dismantled (Waelkens *et al.* 2002, 12). Also in the early sixth century, the porticoes along the Lower Agora were replaced by commercial structures: in the

west food was prepared and sold in a row of small individual shops (Figure 7; Waelkens *et al.* 2000a, 368); to the northeast of the Agora, three singular rooms with unknown functions were installed, whereas, at the same time, the eastern portico was replaced by a larger *thermopolion*, a restaurant for serving hot meals and drinks (Figure 8; Waelkens *et al.* 2006, 229; Putzeys 2007, 262-273). On the State Agora of Ephesus, probably at the end of the fifth or in the first half of the sixth century at the latest, one and probably two cisterns were installed (Eichler 1965, 96-97). In the sixth century, the same happened in the entrance portico of the Agora at Apamea (Aurenche 1983, 297). This suggests a more problematic water provision, and difficulties in maintaining the aqueducts.

Private usurpation of secondary streets also became more widespread. In early sixth-century Apamea, utilitarian spaces belonging to private mansions were installed on the edges of smaller streets<sup>7</sup>. Conversely, the Atrium Church completely blocked a *cardo*, making all traffic impossible and initiating further private encroachment. In the same phase, the shops along the *decumanus* in the north were eliminated by the Church's new side aisle and enlarged atrium (Napoleone-Lemaire and Balty 1969, 13-14, 27, 69-70, 75, 83-84). The Terrace Building to the north of the Upper Agora at Sagalassos was, in the early sixth century, subdivided into workshops and shops, while extra shops were attached both to the east and west of the main building (Waelkens *et al.* 1997, 168-173; 2000a, 273-292). The conversion of the area to the north of the State Agora at Ephesus started already somewhat before AD 500: the temple of Augustus and Artemis was taken over by the residential area on the slopes of the Panayırdağ, inside the *prytaneion* a cistern was installed and inside the eastern end of the basilica a prosperous civilian constructed a comfortable house with *peristylum*<sup>8</sup>. The encroachment in and near older temples thus continued, though on sites that had mostly already been converted in the earlier period: at Sagalassos at the end of

<sup>7</sup> La Maison aux consoles, BALTY 1984a, 19-36; 1989, 90; La Maison aux pilastres, GISLER and HUWILER 1984, 90-92; BALTY 1984b, 496-497; FOSS 1997, 219; La Maison au triclinos, BALTY 1984a, 15, fig. 5.

<sup>8</sup> For the residential area on the Temple of Artemis and Augustus, see EICHLER 1961, 68; ALZINGER 1972-1975, 295-299; FOSS 1979, 80; 1977, 473; VETTERS 1972, 3, fig. 1; for the conversion of the prytaneion, EICHLER 1961, 68; ALZINGER 1971, 1647; 1972-1975, 248-249; for the house established in the basilica, EICHLER 1968, 80-82; ALZINGER 1972-1975, 299; BAUER 1996, 291 and for structures found on the Agora itself, EICHLER 1965, 96-97; VETTERS 1972, 3, fig. 1.

the fifth century a second structure was built against the Heroon, again possibly intended to guard the city gate. In the early sixth century, the second encroachment phase near the temple of Hadrian and Antoninus Pius commenced. Inside the *cryptoporticus* of the lower terrace of the Temple of Zeus at Gerasa several small rooms with mosaic floors, installed by the end of the fifth century, were attributed to a monastic community (Rasson en Seigne 1989, 119-121).

The final conversion of the civic centre around the State Agora at Ephesus, the growing encroachment on streets, piazzas and inside public buildings and the apparent neglect of the street in sector MMS at Sardis, indicate a changed mentality towards the traditional city in the late fifth and the sixth century. However, at Sagalassos for instance, the large number of reconstructions and renovations initiated in the early sixth century suggests that a form of directing leadership was still present (Waelkens *et al.* 2006, 229-231). Most importantly, contrary to the following period, in all cities economic activities apparently continued uninterrupted.

#### *Encroachment between AD 550/75 and 635/50*

After the mid sixth century, encroachment reflecting economic transactions was still to be found at some locations. For instance, in the entrance portico of the Baths of Placcus at Gerasa presumably two shops were installed (Fisher 1938a, 265-269). Commercial activity continued in the porticoes of the Marble Road at Sardis. The shops extended into the portico by means of permanent structures in stone, whereas find distribution revealed that at the time the shops were destroyed, goods were also displayed on trestles of perishable materials (Figure 9; Crawford 1990, 37-38, 44). However, at the same time, many of the shops originally connected with dye production seem to have gone out of use and were converted into dwellings (Harris 2004, 112-114). In the same period, the colonnaded street at sector MMS was dilapidated and covered with dumped debris (Greenewalt, Ratté and Rautman 1995, 7). Also at Sagalassos, debris and refuse were no longer evacuated but discarded inside the city centre itself (Waelkens *et al.* 2006, 231-233). For the first time encroachment on colonnaded streets also included the road surface. On the Arkadiane at Ephesus, this started just after AD 614-616 at the latest (Keil 1964, 83; Schneider 1999, 467, 475). At Antioch, the first private constructions on the *cardo* may have appeared not long after its

Justinianic reconstruction and certainly before the Arab conquests<sup>9</sup>. At Apamea, they may have been erected shortly after the earthquake of AD 573 (Balty and Balty 1969, 41-42; Balty 1972a, 17-18; Kennedy 1985b, 162-163, note 57; Foss 1997, 208).

The extension of residential areas on the alleys between the houses was still continuing. In Hierapolis, the alley next to the House with the Ionic capitals was possibly usurped after AD 550/75 (de Bernardi Ferrero 1990, 228; Whittow 2001, 141). At Antioch, house A extended on the alley in the east (Fisher 1934, 11, fig. 7). At Gerasa, the streets in the residential area to the west of the Church of Theodore were still being adjusted four centuries after the first usurpation. The houses were separated from the Church of Theodore by a continuous wall. The church could thereafter only be reached through a narrow alley, whereas the cut-off road surface in the north was changed into several rooms (Fisher 1938a, 294).

In this period, many inhabited areas became deserted: part of the structures at the Agora of Hierapolis were abandoned in the second half of the sixth century, while the earthquake of the mid seventh century stopped the early Byzantine occupation completely. Also the artisanal quarter at the hippodrome of Gerasa had largely stopped its production by AD 600, whereas both agorae of Sagalassos were apparently abandoned before the town was hit by an earthquake around AD 590. Other complexes underwent a total transformation, completely losing their traditional function. The bath-gymnasium complex at Sardis was, after the destruction of the town during the Persian invasions, used for ceramic production, lime-burning and metal workshops. The northern part of Gerasa was largely abandoned after the mid sixth century. In the shops along the *cardo* and the northern *decumanus*, stables were installed (Ball *et al.* 1986, 357-365). These were again deserted in the early seventh century and only served for the dumping of rubbish. The oval plaza in the south, and possibly even the round plaza at the crossing of the southern *decumanus* and the *cardo*, became encroached by several walls, possibly residential structures (Fisher 1938b, 157; Pierrobon 1983-1984,

<sup>9</sup> LASSUS 1972, 26-27, 66, 84-85, 89-91, 104-106; KENNEDY 1985b, 153-154. Opinions on the date vary: Lassus placed all structures after the Arab conquest, Kennedy dated them to the end of the sixth century, while POTTER (1995, 85) thought some of them were Justinianic. The usurpations probably started not long after the reconstruction in AD 540, since, despite the swift rise in street level, many of them were located directly on top of the paving.

90, 94; Kraeling 1938b, 105, 109, 113-115; Harding 1949, 19). The same happened at the Agora of Apamea (Balty 1972a, 26; Foss 1997, 108, 110). After the mid sixth century, on top of the rubble of the Terrace Houses and above the old Stiegengasse 1 at Ephesus, a storehouse, cistern and watermills were located (Vetters 1970, 111; 1971, 93-94; 1973, 186-7; Wikander 2000, 388; Wiplinger 2002, 88). In this period the so-called Nymphaeum, one of the honorific monuments along the Embolos, was converted into a metal workshop (Figure 10; Thür 1999, 117-119). By 635/650, life in these cities had thus altered so drastically that it was no longer comparable with that in the centuries before.

#### TOPOGRAPHICAL SETTINGS AND BUILDING PROPERTIES

Another major difficulty with encroachment is establishing its nature and function. Ideally, this is achieved based on internal evidence, finds and their distribution<sup>10</sup>. In addition, or when finds are insufficient or non-existent, we can obtain information from the setting of encroachment within the city. Moreover, also the building technique, size and regularity of the structures can contribute to their interpretation.

#### *Settings*

Many constructions in city centres, along busy streets, on top of *fora/agorae* and abutting functioning public buildings, had a commercial function. As is the case today, we can imagine that such building plots were sought after, as all those passing by formed a large potential clientele. Even when the structures themselves have almost disappeared, their context can be useful in determining their function. For instance, though the earliest encroachment structures encountered at Sardis are badly known, it can be assumed that in this prosperous period sites with a commercial-artisanal function were set up at the intersection of two main streets, adjacent to the functioning baths and the newly adorned Synagogue (Seager 1972, 433-434; Hanfmann 1983, 168-174).

Structures with a commercial-artisanal function along main streets and agorae were not a late antique innovation. In the Imperial Age too shopkeepers and artisans displayed their goods outside their shops on

<sup>10</sup> See for instance PUTZEYS 2007 for contextual analysis at Sagalassos.

simple wooden shelves or trestles, as is for instance described by Martial or depicted on Early Imperial reliefs<sup>11</sup>. Such activities took place, for example, at the Theatre Street at Ephesus (Knibbe 1985). In the first third of the third century, the street and its porticoes were restored by M. Fulvius Publicianus Nikephoros. The inscriptions commemorating his endowment suggest that each trade was awarded one to four, and mostly two, *intercolumnia*. Though the meaning of this phrase is not completely clear, in the last phase of the street<sup>12</sup>, two neighbouring trades marked their boundary by inscribing the names of both professions on the column between them. This was clearly useful in avoiding quarrels over the use of space underneath the porticoes. The third-century inscription might thus refer to an early portico subdivision and even confirm an existing situation. In this particular case, the intensive commercial use of the street is probably connected to the many worshippers passing by on their way to the Sanctuary of Artemis<sup>13</sup>.

In a further phase there must have been wooden constructions, booths that remained in place more permanently and required cuttings in the paving. Eventually such structures became petrified. This is not a sign of economic regression, as the owner intended to use the structure for a longer period. In other words, he trusted that the necessary raw materials or merchandise would remain available for a longer period and that his customers would keep on coming. At the same time, he also assumed that his construction would not be removed by the government.

As the colonnaded street played an important role in economic life (Foss 1979, 96-97; Potter 1995, 88; Walmsley 1996, 144), the encroachment of its porticoes was an extension of the original function. Also the other function of colonnaded streets, as carefully controlled lanes where civic largesse and civic pride were displayed, initially lived on (Ward-Perkins 1996, 15). This changed only when the road surface itself was re-designated, indicating much more far-reaching changes to civic life.

<sup>11</sup> Martial VII 61 and for instance Roman reliefs at Florence, Galleria Uffizi inv. no. 313 and 315, both dating from the first century AD, depicts sales and the displaying of goods inside a portico.

<sup>12</sup> The identification with an Asiarch of the first quarter of the third century can only serve as a *terminus post quem*. Indeed, the heterogeneous appearance of the street makes it likely the columns with the inscriptions were reused in a later, undated renovation, as was for instance also the case at the Marble Road at Sardis around AD 400 (CRAWFORD 1990, 3-5).

<sup>13</sup> The street was indeed part of the processional route. Cf. *infra*.

Conversely, sites with a smaller visibility, outside the city centre or somewhat removed from its main thoroughfares, hosted artisanal activities and/or houses. At the Hippodrome at Gerasa and the Agora at Hierapolis ceramics and lime were produced. At Hierapolis, the business of the shops along Frontinus Street must have been drastically cut back when visitors to the Agora no longer appeared, and thus they were converted into dwellings. Structures installed just behind city gates, even though they cannot be distinguished on the basis of findings or architecture, probably often had a communal function, such as inspecting or maybe even taxing visitors and merchants entering the city<sup>14</sup>.

### *Ground plan and building technique*

The ground plan depended in the first place on the shape of the pre-existing space. The *tabernae* in the Embolos at Ephesus had an irregular ground plan, as they had to be fitted in the space available. Porticoes were easily subdivided by the construction of two perpendicular walls, thus creating spaces with a far more regular appearance than those erected in larger open areas, such as agorae, atria, or on the road surface itself. For example, when the first structures were installed inside the *peristylum* of Temple C at Gerasa, all rooms were rectangular. A second phase, installed on top of a thick collapse layer, was far more irregular in plan (Fisher 1938a, 287-9). Most later buildings for which the materials used are known, were rectangular or quasi-rectangular. Normally spaces were rather small, between 6 and 16 m<sup>2</sup>.

Unsurprisingly, encroachment-structures used a wide variety of materials. Although wooden structures in the late antique city are attested in literary and iconographic sources<sup>15</sup>, they have long remained unnoticed in the archaeological record. Their presence was only attested at a few sites, such as Iol Caesarea in Algeria, Philippi and Corinth in Greece and, in a somewhat different form, in the Theatre Street at Ephesus<sup>16</sup>.

<sup>14</sup> For similar structures behind the Southwest Gate at Sardis, see VAN ZANTEN, THOMAS and HANFMANN 1975, 45-47 and behind the North Gate of Abu Mina, see GROSSMANN 1998, 276.

<sup>15</sup> E.g., Libanius, *Orationes* XXVI 20-22; *CTh* VIII 1.45 (406) on wooden structures in the hippodrome of Constantinople. All sorts of installations are also depicted on the sixth-century Yakto-mosaic.

<sup>16</sup> POTTER 1995, 32-47 for Iol Caesarea; SÈVE and WEBER 1986, 580 for Philippi; SCRANTON 1959, 141 for Corinth. KNIBBE 1985, 75 mentions wooden beams to hang curtains in between the columns of the Theatre Street at Ephesus.

Although they did not necessarily leave permanent marks and it is possible that part of them was completely erased during later reconstructions or reorganisations, it is also very likely that on many sites they are not recognised for what they are. For instance, postholes and grooves related to the presence of stalls on the agorae of Sagalassos have only recently been recognised and mapped, even though they were already excavated some ten years ago (Lavan *forthcoming* a-b). Amongst the more permanent structures, mortared rubble and levelling brick layers showed a regular variation in the Byzantine shops of Sardis, *tabernae* I and II along the Embolos and the new rooms in front of the shops along the Domitian Street at Ephesus, but this was rather exceptional. Most structures were built of mortared rubble, diverse reused blocks, and an occasional brick layer. Architectural fragments were often taken from the immediate neighbourhood, as in the case of the Agora of Hierapolis or the shops to the west of the Terrace Building at Sagalassos, which reused the ashlar of the old Bouleuterion wall. Room XVI of this complex constitutes a fine example of a mix of wall techniques within the same room: the southern wall was built of recycled ashlar; the northern consisted of two faces of smaller cut stones with a rubble core, the western of ashlar and rubble.

Though details on wall thicknesses are rarely published, ground plans show they differed considerably, not only between two independent units, but also within the same room. Wall thickness was partly dependent on the materials used. For instance, the walls in the northern agora stoa at Hierapolis were between 0.7 and 1.2 m thick because of the wide variations in re-used architectural blocks. Conversely, the width of walls made of smaller blocks or rubble could be controlled more easily. Such constructions with a more consistent wall width will be discussed in the following section.

When floors were identified, they consisted of beaten earth, brick, mortar layers or stone paving slabs reused from the former structure. Due to the often fragmentary preservation of encroachment-structures, their further finishing is seldom preserved. In the *tabernae* along the Embolos at Ephesus, wall paintings were found (Vetters 1977, 18). The public/private building along the Marble Street possibly had a marble decoration. In the sixth century a painted plaster layer was applied to the back wall of the shops in the western portico of the Lower Agora at Sagalassos (Waelkens *et al.* 2002, 12, 20; Putzeys 2007, 340-344). The Byzantine Shops at Sardis had plastered walls, and those of E8 and E9 were decorated, in the final phase, with frescoes depicting floral scenes (Harris 2004, 116).



## INTERPRETATION

*How private were these usurpations?*

Some conversions of public space, for instance, large cisterns or reservoirs, can easily be recognised as communal initiatives. The closing up of the columnar hall to the west of the Marble Street at Ephesus can because of its location and lavish decoration also be considered as a public undertaking. In addition, literary sources inform us that public space was commandeered not only by the likes of squatters, but also by well-off civilians, who turned porticoes and monuments into profitable acquisitions by leasing them to middle-class shopkeepers and artisans (Saradi 2006, 187, 194 and especially 204-206). In addition, also for the local government such controlled conversion of public space must have been an attractive manner to supplement civic incomes. In the following paragraphs, a subdivision will be made between structures that can truly be ascribed to squatters and those that may have resulted from actions of, or at least were approved by, the authorities. Therefore, we need to assess the general organisation, scale and cohesion of the construction activities. In a first step a division is made between individual structures and those that were part of a larger complex. Especially in the last case, the involvement of a wealthy individual or authority can be assumed. These larger complexes can then be subdivided into those defined as multi-roomed habitation or residential area, and those with another function.

*Individual structures.* Most encroachment between AD 300 and 550/75 in fact consisted of larger structures or larger complexes. Individual spaces could be found in the porticoed street in sector MMS at Sardis or on the atria of the churches in Gerasa. In a few cases, as for example the structures around the Heroon at Sagalassos, they may be identified as communal initiatives. Only after AD 550/75 did the number of smaller, private structures increase.

*Larger complexes with a residential function.* In this category, one can be quasi certain that these were constructed by individuals. Also some of these private usurpations could have hardly happened without the consent of the government. For instance, at Ephesus, the development of the residential quarter on the location of the former Halls of Verulanus and Harbour Gymnasium was in fact the redirection of a city quarter, carried out under the eye of the governor and the bishop. The

establishment of the monastic community in the Temple of Zeus at Gerasa as well is likely to have acquired the permission of the government, to which the bishop also belonged. Then there were also some rather luxurious multiple-roomed residences such as that established behind the façade of the Celsus Library, and that in the *basilica* on the State Agora of Ephesus<sup>17</sup>. The first appeared in a period in which the city was still recovering from calamities, the second was possibly part of the above-mentioned residential area on the slope of the hill to the north of the State Agora. Finally, there were several modest habitations, such as the fourth-century take-over of Temple C at Gerasa and probably also the spaces in the southern portico of the Artemis Temple, both of which were again part of a larger residential area. Opposed to shops and workshops, all these residential structures were thus positioned in, on top of or near dilapidated and deserted public buildings, which were often situated outside the contemporary city centre.

*Larger complexes with a non-residential function.* Then, a group of larger encroachment complexes with a non-residential function remains. When a larger building project was simultaneously conceived and implemented, it can be assumed this was in some way reflected in the regularity of its execution. We are therefore looking for regular complexes, built up of rooms with the same orientation, more or less the same width and/or length and, ideally, respecting the borders of the original space in which they were installed. The Byzantine shops of Sardis, though not real encroachment except for the incorporation of the Baths' vestibule, were a first example. They were a repetition of the former phase and most likely still installed by the government, but as there were now larger quality differences between neighbouring shops, their actual construction may this time have been the work of individuals<sup>18</sup>. A second instance of a controlled or directed usurpation of public space was the extension of the *tabernae* behind the Alytarchenstoa at Ephesus. The interior dividing wall between the two spaces was erected parallel to the sidewalls of the other *tabernae*, which makes it likely that we are also here dealing with a larger building programme, comprising the reconstruction of ten older and the establishment of two new commercial spaces.

<sup>17</sup> Libanius, *Epistulae* 1364 for the adaptation of a pagan temple by an aristocrat, PETT 1955, 209.

<sup>18</sup> CRAWFORD 1990, 6. HARRIS (2004, 87-91, 114) sums up all evidence for an overall planning and coordination in the distribution of functions during the last major reconstruction of the shops.

The addition of front-rooms to a row of shops may also have been controlled undertakings. For instance in the Domitian Street at Ephesus they formed part of a construction programme affecting the entire street. The shops around the Cathedral complex at Gerasa extended in the same organised manner. The rooms established in the western portico of the Upper Agora at Sagalassos were more or less the same size, possessed the same wall masonry and the same wall width (Figures 5 and 6; Putzeys 2007, 340-344). Likewise, the surfaces taken in by the sixth-century shops in the western portico of the Lower Agora hardly differed; the original borders of the portico were respected (Figure 7); and most significantly, the dividing walls between the separate spaces were on average much thinner than those found in other complexes, as if they had always been intended to serve as interior divisions. Finally, the most northern shop diverted water from the Severan Nymphaeum it abutted, again an action for which we can assume permission needed to be obtained (Waelkens *et al.* 2002, 20).

All these complexes extended the existing commercial function of their setting. This was also the case with the *tabernae* complex established on the Ortygia Street to the west of the Embolos (Figure 3). Despite its less regular appearance, it appeared in the centre of the city, which at the time was being repaired and renovated, and abutted the newly constructed ornamental portico to the south of the Celsus Library (Vetters 1979, 126-127). So also in this case, approval of the authorities is quasi certain.

Maybe one of the most likely candidates for organised subdivision of public space was the Terrace Building to the north of the Upper Agora at Sagalassos. It no longer fulfilled its initial public function in Late Antiquity, but because of its oblong and narrow shape, finding it a new destination may have been hard. Leasing or selling it to one or several individuals must have been both more lucrative as well as more pleasing for the town's appearance than letting it fall into disrepair. Although part of the building had possibly already been converted in the fifth century (Waelkens *et al.* 1997, 164-166), when it needed to be patched up after the earthquake of the early sixth century, privatisation also had the extra advantage that the new inhabitants would execute all necessary repairs themselves. Public involvement in the new shopping centre was implied by the passage of the water supply for the Antonine Nymphaeum along the north of the Upper Agora. In addition, the erection of the shops to the west of the main building coincided with the laying of a

new staircase connecting the street to the Agora below (Figure 6). At the same time, the western side of the Agora was rebuilt so that the encroachment in the west portico was from then on accompanied by the monumental staircase leading up to the Bouleuterion Church.

Finally, it should be noted that, even when public space remained under control of the government or a wealthy individual, most construction activities were executed by the actual occupants. Another, though more expensive, solution would have involved the employment of a more professional building team to subdivide or construct a new shopping centre, but judging by the overall quality of execution, this did not occur often.

### *Encroachment and Churches*

The concentration of trades behind, and their possible third-century encroachment into the porticoes of the Theatre Street at Ephesus was probably the result of its location on the processional route to the Artemis Sanctuary. Before Late Antiquity, shops and workshops were frequently concentrated around temples, no doubt as they drew many visitors and worshippers (Saradi 2006, 216 note 1160). Within the late antique city, the liveliest locations were of course its churches. As a consequence, the surroundings of churches now became ideal locations for shops and workshops. At Sagalassos, the construction of the Church in the Bouleuterion may have induced the subdivision of the western portico at the Upper Agora. At Gerasa, the shops next to the entrance of the Cathedral were extended, very likely as they with the construction of the church complex became profitable possessions (Brenk, Jäggi and Meier 1995, 211-213). Finally, also the encroachment on the *decumanus* and the *cardo* of Apamea was located in the area of churches, the Church with the Atrium, the Rotunda and the Cathedral (Saradi 2006, 214-216, 423-424 with more examples)<sup>19</sup>. In such cases, we can even ask ourselves to what extent the Church itself was actively involved in or responsible for the organisation of these activities<sup>20</sup>. Though there does not need to be a direct connection in all instances, it can be said with certainty the new rulers had little interest in removing these structures.

<sup>19</sup> SARADI 2006, 214-216 and 423-424 gives more examples.

<sup>20</sup> LAVAN 2003, 317-318, 324-325 for activities in and around churches. See also LEONE 2003, 277-278 and MARTORELLI 1999. In addition, there is little or no evidence to support the theory that these shops only sold religious items.

In addition, usurpation of church atria themselves started after AD 550/75. One or possibly both of the courtyards of the Cathedral at Apamea was partly claimed (Balty 1972b, 193-194). At Gerasa, secondary structures were attested in the porticoes of the complex consisting of the Church of Cosmas and Damian, the Church of St. John the Baptist and the Church of Georgos, at the Church of Peter and Paul and the Church of Theodore (Figure 11; Crowfoot 1938, 220-254, Kraeling 1938a, plans 33, 37, 39). Though these have often been attributed to invaders, the fact that they invariably respected church entrances may imply otherwise. In all these cases, a more definite answer is hampered by the lack of information on the correct appearance of the new structures and their interior furnishing. Better results have been obtained at Thebes, Greece, where similar small structures connected to its churches could be interpreted as ecclesiastical undertakings. For example, in an apsidal room to the south of Basilica B, a furnace, a column used to hang cooking pots from and a low table were retrieved, suggesting this location was used to prepare meals. Similarly, repairs to the atrium of Basilica C included the walling up of the southern stoa. The mosaic adorning this new room and an inscription referring to a teacher suggested that it served as a school (Karagiorgou 2001, 186-190). Other subdivisions inside Thebe's basilicas were attributed to a growing insecurity. Indeed, when in unsafe periods people sought protection within the defended area and demands for food supplies and shelter increased rapidly, subdivision of ecclesiastical buildings could have offered a solution (Karagiorgou 2001, 213-214)<sup>21</sup>.

### *Explaining Encroachment: Pragmatism in Late Antiquity*

Construction on public spaces does not necessarily point towards population increase. For it was a lot easier for private individuals to build on public spaces or to live in disused, but solidly constructed public monuments than to redevelop a site that first had to be cleared of rubble, or in the best case levelled, before construction could start. For example, at Gerasa, a house was first installed inside the peristyle of Temple C and only afterwards habitations would be built on the open terrain next to it, starting from zero (Fisher 1938a, 283-284). The same pragmatic attitude was visible at the substructures of the hippodrome at Gerasa, which were

<sup>21</sup> Joshua the Stylite, *Chronicle* §43 describes how in AD 500/1 the authorities converted the porticoes of Edessa in Southeast Turkey into emergency shelters for refugees (TROMBLEY and WATT 2000, 44).

so to speak predefined habitations and workshops, not for one or two individuals but for dozens of inhabitants.

The government itself took on a pragmatic attitude towards the phenomenon. Liebeschuetz (2001, 29-30) called it a «laissez-faire attitude», but it was more than that. The civic authorities apparently soon discovered that much was to be gained from encroachment structures. Already in the fourth century they were not removed from the street images, but taxed instead<sup>22</sup>. When in the course of Late Antiquity a town's income would diminish more and more and public buildings could no longer be maintained in a proper manner, a creative solution was needed. The lease or sale of a portico or public monument could not only increase diminished budgets, but even relieved authorities completely from the responsibility to maintain them. The growing encroachment can thus no longer be considered merely as a consequence of a weakened civic government that was no longer able to uphold the law. It would be more correct to say that it was no longer willing to do so<sup>23</sup>.

Finally, the orthogonal street system was respected the longer the less. Pentz (1992, 49) said on this: «in the long history of the East, the Graeco-Roman town was nothing more than a long digression; when possible the towns re-established their old oriental plan, with larger strictly planned streets, combined with narrow winding alleys». In spite of the coloured choice of words, the message conveyed seems correct. Also the new sixth-century city quarters of Jerusalem or Scythopolis were loosely planned, with winding streets and looser division of building plots (Foerster and Tsafrir 1987-88, 40-42; Tsafrir en Foerster 1994, 106-108). This diversion of the Roman way of doing things is the most conspicuous at Gerasa, where the orthogonal street system was forced upon a chaotic city in the second half of the second century AD (Seigne 1992, 338-340). As is apparent from the organically developing residential quarter to the west of the later Church of Theodore, it was never completely successful. In cities with a deeper rooted Greek and Roman tradition, changes to residential areas seemingly progressed in another

<sup>22</sup> Cf. *supra*.

<sup>23</sup> The failure to remove earthquake debris is a comparable mixture of necessity and conscious choice. As a consequence, even though it was located in the city centre, Stiegegasse 1 at Ephesus remained at least partly buried from the late third century onwards, the Domitian Street rose by almost a metre in the second half of the fourth century (VETTERS 1972-1975, 318-319), as did many streets at Sagalassos in the early sixth, even though throughout the town extensive renovation works were undertaken (MARTENS 2007, 336-337, 348, 351).

manner: instead of complete reorganisations, we here find more modest extensions onto smaller alleys.

## CONCLUSION

Encroachment is a well-known feature of every late antique city. A simple explanation for its development does not exist. It is not indicative of either decline or economic growth. Each structure or ensemble of structures came into being through a mixture of local factors and general evolutions in the late antique and Early Byzantine Empire, and the first without the presence of the second would have had far less impact. Until the end of the fifth century<sup>24</sup>, instances are known whereby encroachment was removed by authorities implementing the law. But as during Late Antiquity the incomes of the cities were diminishing, large structures such as the Hippodrome at Gerasa could no longer be rebuilt, especially not when construction of more utilitarian constructions such as circuit walls was more pressing. In general, the attitude of civic authorities towards the encroachment phenomenon softened. After it had become clear that all attempts to stop it had little or no effect, one was most likely inclined to allow it, maybe under certain aesthetic or financial conditions. In addition, in order to increase the civic income, the authorities could actively participate by selling both building parts and complete buildings. The Christianisation of the Empire contributed to encroachment as it was the main cause for the abandonment of some traditional building types, commencing with all the pagan sanctuaries, thereby making new building terrains available.

In city centres, free public space must have been attractive because of its commercial possibilities. Favourable locations along streets, on plazas or near churches were converted to shopping centres, executed in stone or perishable materials. The latter in particular may have been far more numerous than we now suspect, but we are slowly learning how to trace them. As commercial and artisanal extensions can indicate economic growth, and for the shop and/or the area an increased number of customers, encroachment not necessarily equals a setback in prosperity. However, in periods of stress, occupation of deserted buildings and construction on unused terrains was an easy way to create additional living space or to obtain a dwelling.

<sup>24</sup> Joshua the Stylite, *Chronicle* §29 for Edessa (TROMBLEY and WATT 2000, 26).

Until AD 550/75, most structures encroaching on public space were extensions of the original function of the area. For instance, owners of private houses built extra rooms on the street; shops extended into the portico. After the mid sixth century, encroachment not only increased at a faster rate, but spaces were also given completely new purposes that seldom complied with their original use and generally pointed to a downfall of civic life. This may have been the result of a general impoverishment of the Empire after the reign of Justinian and of the Plague, but these factors are with the evidence currently available not (yet?) distinguishable from evolutions that had started earlier. Around AD 600, increasing insecurity also started to play a role in a presumable population concentration in city centres and around churches.

Secondary structures installed in public spaces were very heterogeneous. Some adjustments of public space must have been private undertakings; others may still have possessed a more public function. Until the mid sixth century, many instances of encroachment appear to have been part of larger complexes, owned by the government or a private individual. Such larger-conceived and carefully-planned building programmes have been tentatively identified. Although most of these presumptions cannot (yet) be proven, this approach at least diversifies the encroachment-phenomenon. As it is certain that a variety of structures, with diverse functions and varying degrees of wealth and status, was built into or next to public spaces and monuments in the late antique and early Byzantine city, we can no longer continue placing all excavated remains within the same category of 'encroachment'.

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\* Journal abbreviations are those of *L'Année Philologique*.

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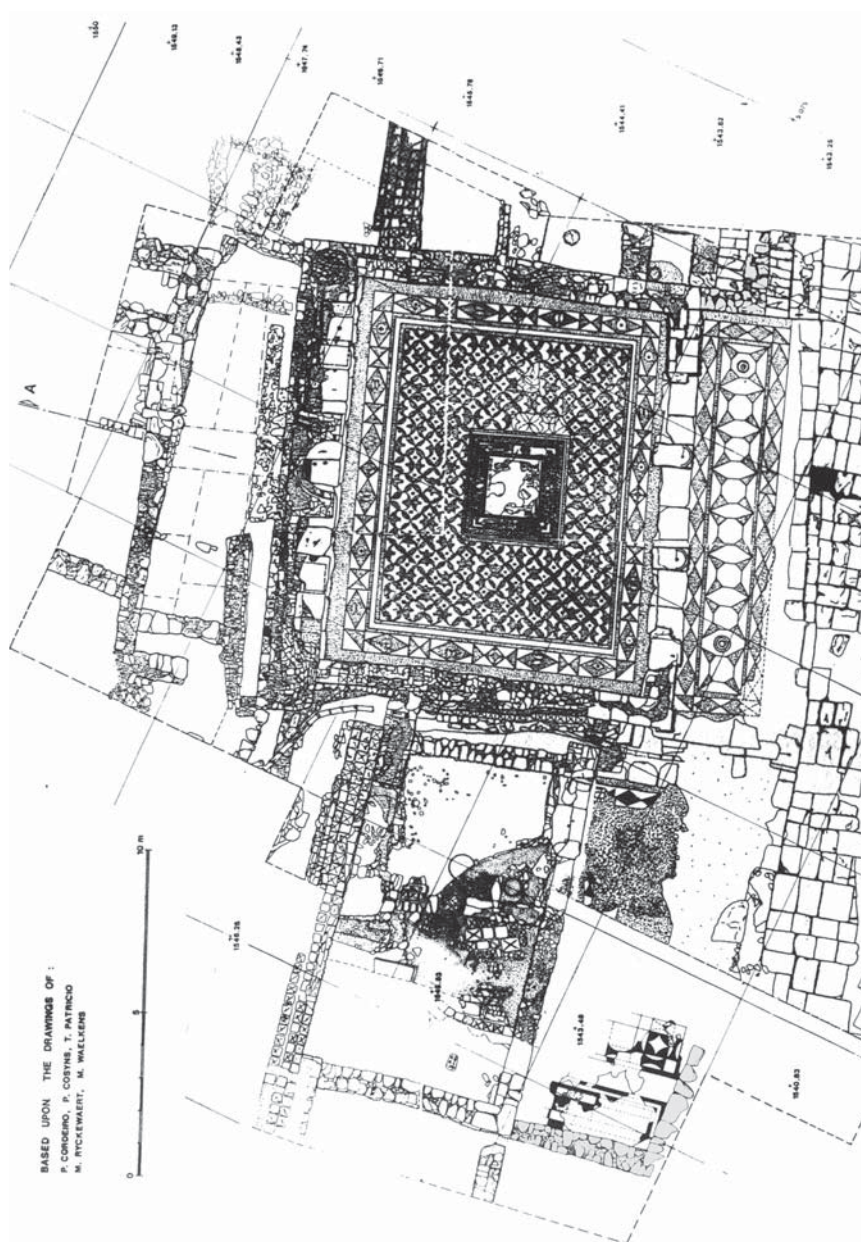


Fig. 1 – Walls encroaching on the colonnaded street passing by the so-called Library at Sagalassos.

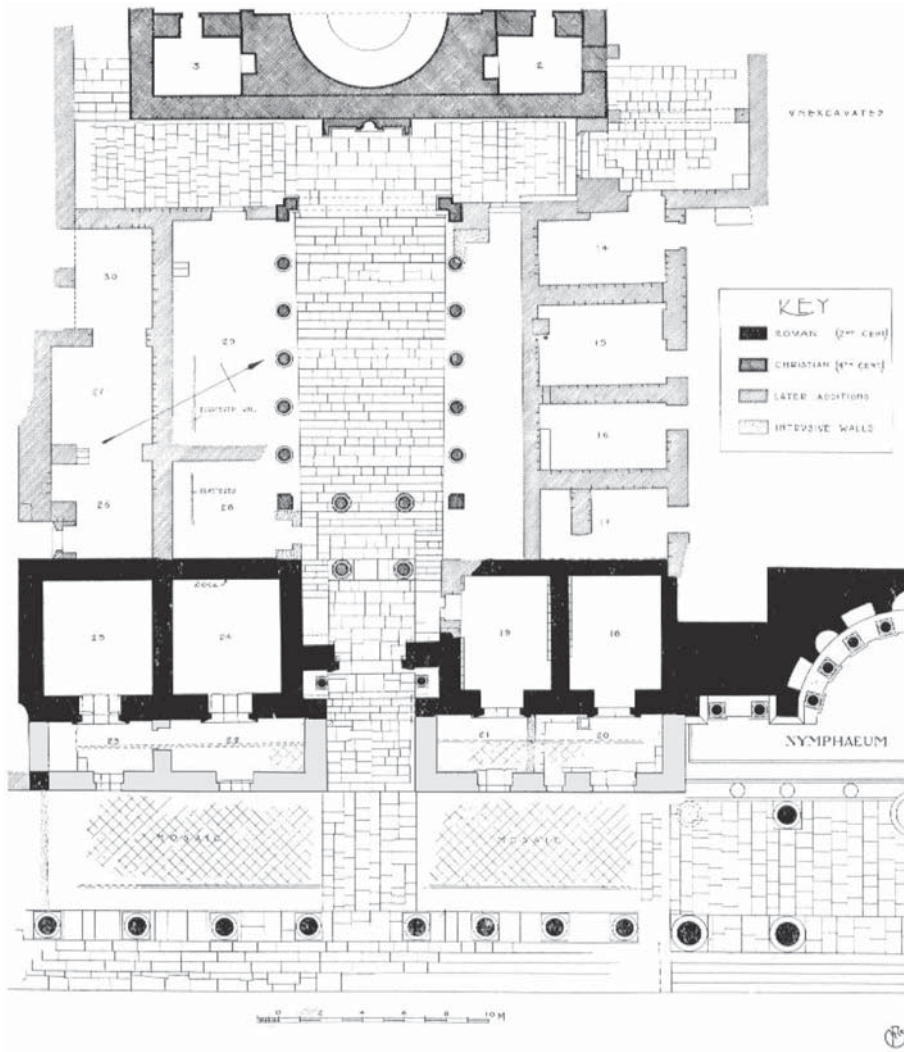


Fig. 2 – The shops on both sides of the staircase leading to the Church of Theodore at Gerasa (adapted from Kraeling 1938, plan 29).

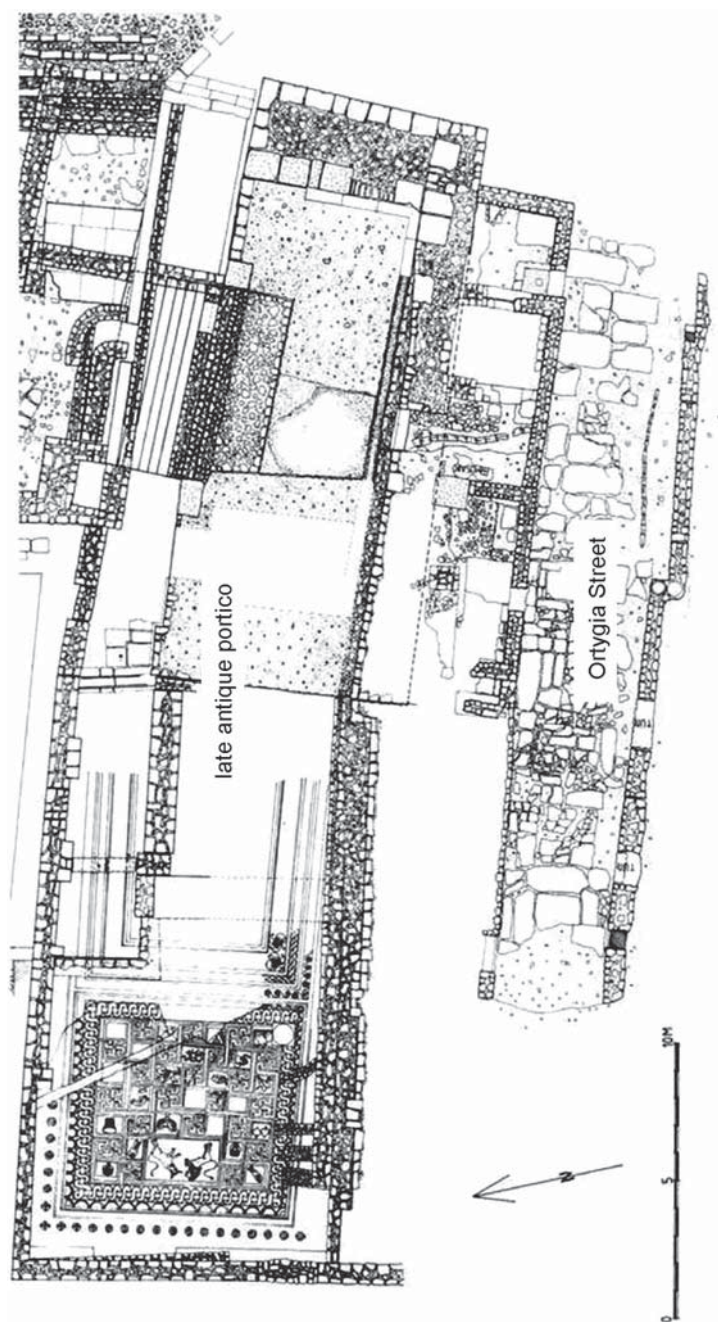


Fig. 3 – The Ortygia Street at Ephesus with adjoining late antique portico (adapted from Vettors 1979, Abb. 3, detail).



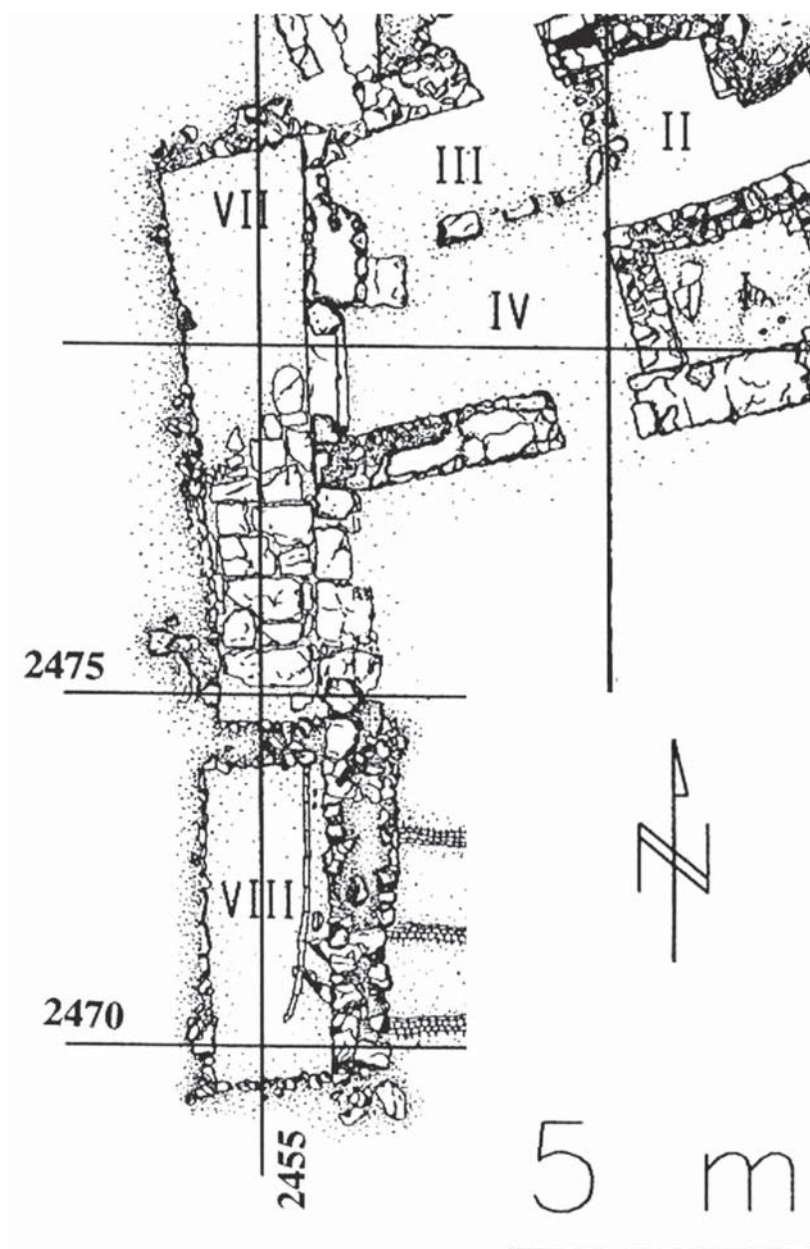


Fig. 4 – Fourth century extensions VII and VIII  
of a private mansion at Sagalassos.



Fig. 5 – The subdivision of the west portico of the Upper Agora at Sagalassos, with the sixth century water basin installed on top of the agora pavement.



Fig. 6 – The two staircases amidst the encroachment on and around the Upper Agora at Sagalassos.



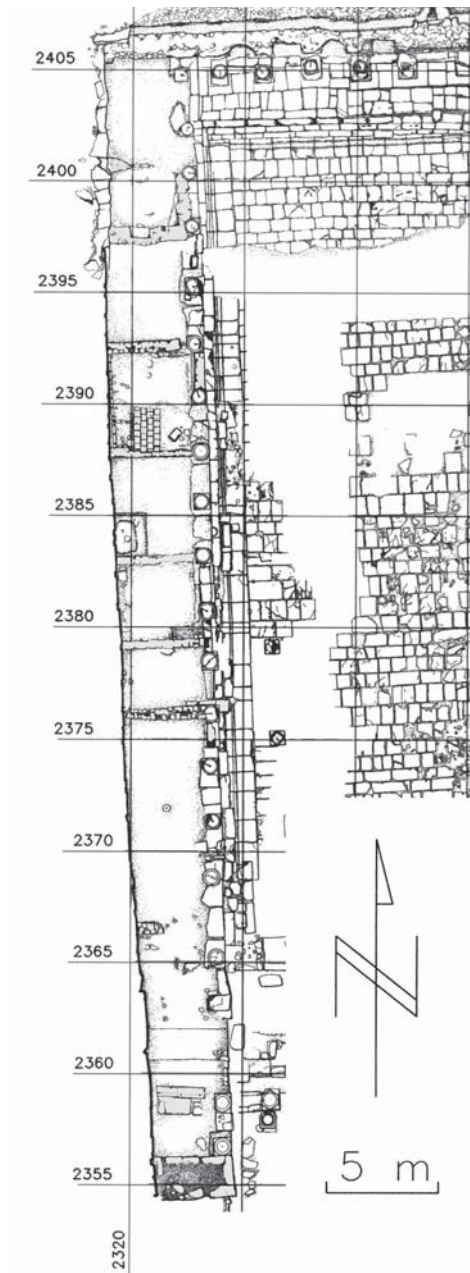


Fig. 7 – Encroachment in the west portico of the Lower Agora at Sagalassos.



Fig. 8 – The *thermopolion* installed in the east portico of the Lower Agora at Sagalassos.





Fig. 9 – Encroachment in the portico of the Marble Road at Sardis.



Fig. 10 – Amphorae installed in the so-called Nymphaeum at Ephesus.

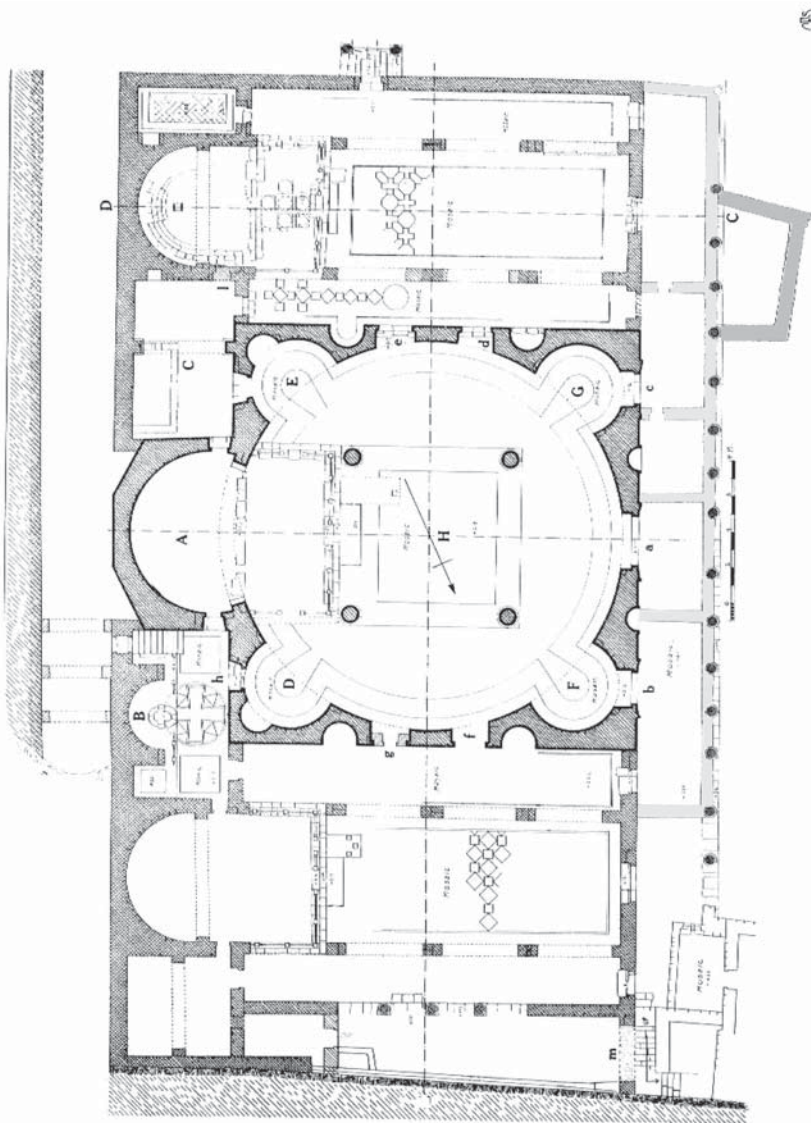


Fig. 11 – The atrium in front of the Church of Cosmas and Damian, the Church of St. John the Baptist and the Church of Georgos at Gerasa (adapted from Kraeling 1938, plan 37).

## ISIACA ET AEGYPTIACA DE L'ANTIQUITE TARDIVE ET DU HAUT MOYEN AGE

*Abstract:* A plusieurs reprises, des objets en relation avec les cultes isiaques (*isiaca*) ou avec l'Égypte (*aegyptiaca*) ont été retrouvés dans un contexte de l'Antiquité tardive ou du Haut Moyen Âge. Que penser de ces découvertes? Pour tenter de répondre à cette question, nous avons essayé de recenser ces différents documents et de les regrouper en plusieurs catégories.

La première concerne les objets découverts dans des tombes mérovingiennes ou considérées comme telles. Le plus souvent, le contexte exact de leur découverte manque de fiabilité, notamment à cause de l'absence de stratigraphie car ces fouilles furent, pour la plupart, effectuées au XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle. Il paraît difficile d'attribuer à ces *aegyptiaca* un rôle religieux véritable, à quelques exceptions près.

La deuxième catégorie rassemble des *isiaca* retrouvés dans des fondations d'églises ou à proximité immédiate de celles-ci. Il est tentant d'y voir la continuité de l'occupation de l'espace sacré, sans doute par la volonté de la nouvelle religion de christianiser un lieu païen mais, là encore, le manque de précision dans la mention des découvertes pose problème.

Enfin, un dernier ensemble regroupe les *isiaca* réutilisés dans ces mêmes édifices religieux, que ce soit dans les murs, pour les chapiteaux ou la statuaire.

En résumé, il semble difficile d'affirmer que les cultes isiaques ont survécu longtemps parmi les habitants de la fin de l'Antiquité tardive et du Haut Moyen Âge. Tout au plus peut-on constater que des *aegyptiaca* ou *isiaca* ont été réutilisés dans un but talismanique chez certains, esthétique pour d'autres, utilitaire pour les derniers.

Si la découverte d'objets en relation avec les cultes isiaques (*isiaca*) ou avec l'Égypte (*aegyptiaca*) est suffisamment courante dans les strates hellénistiques et romaines pour constituer un objet d'étude à part entière, sujet de publications nombreuses et de colloques<sup>1</sup>, il n'en est pas de même en contexte mérovingien ou chrétien. Pourtant, à plusieurs reprises, de tels objets en ont été exhumés. Nous voudrions les présenter ici et essayer de comprendre les raisons de leur présence, très tôt mise en

<sup>1</sup> Mentionnons ici les Colloques internationaux sur les études isiaques, organisés par L. Bricault tous les trois ans depuis 1999 (Poitiers en 1999, Lyon en 2002, Leyde en 2005, Liège en 2008), et les colloques *Aegyptus et Pannonia*, réunis tous les deux ans depuis 2000 en Hongrie par H. Györy. Pour ce qui est des publications, elles sont principalement réunies dans la collection des *Etudes Préliminaires aux Religions Orientales dans l'Empire romain*, devenue *Religions in the Graeco-Roman World*.

évidence par le Professeur Leclant dans son article fondateur des recherches isiaques et, plus récemment, dans un autre dédié à Erik Iversen<sup>2</sup>. L'analyse contextuelle de cette documentation permet de distinguer trois groupes qui semblent revêtir des significations différentes: d'abord les objets découverts dans des tombes mérovingiennes ou considérées comme telles, puis ceux retrouvés dans des fondations d'églises ou à proximité immédiate de celles-ci, enfin ceux réutilisés dans ces mêmes édifices religieux.

# 1. LES DOCUMENTS TROUVÉS DANS DES TOMBES MÉROVINGIENNES

Une plume double habituellement caractéristique de la coiffe d'Amon et trois uræus, en bronze incrusté de pâte cloisonnée rouge, bleue et verte, ont été découverts dans une tombe mérovingienne de Picardie<sup>3</sup>. Le contexte de cette trouvaille est néanmoins douteux. En effet, le découvreur, un certain Lelaurain, était plus un pillleur de tombes — dont il revendait le contenu — qu'un fouilleur, et il ne s'embarrassait guère d'une quelconque rigueur scientifique. Non loin de là, deux Osiris en bronze ont été trouvés à Wanquetin, près d'Arras (Pas-de-Calais), dans des tombes mérovingiennes<sup>4</sup>. Notons cependant qu'au même endroit existaient des tombes romaines à incinération, et que cela a pu favoriser la récupération des pièces<sup>5</sup>. C'est toujours dans le nord de la France que quatre scarabées, en fritte émaillée bleue<sup>6</sup>, ont été mis au jour dans des tombes mérovingiennes de Normandie, au cours des fouilles de l'abbé Cochet.

<sup>2</sup> J. LECLANT, *Notes sur la propagation des cultes et monuments égyptiens, en Occident, à l'époque impériale*, BIFAO 55 (1956), p. 173-179, a le premier posé le problème. Voir aussi, du même auteur: *A propos des Aegyptiaca du haut moyen âge en France*, dans *The Heritage of Ancient Egypt. Studies in Honour of Erik Iversen*, Copenhague 1992, p. 77-80.

<sup>3</sup> U. MONNERET DE VILLARD, *Oggetti egizi in una tomba germanica, Aegyptus* 3 (1922), p. 315-330; repris par J. LECLANT, *art. cit.* (n. 2); J.-L. PODVIN, *Aegyptiaca de Picardie*, CE 65 (1990), p. 48-49.

<sup>4</sup> L. BRICAULT, *Deux nouveaux Osiris dans le nord de la Gaule*, *Revue du Nord* (1992), p. 179-183.

<sup>5</sup> R. DELMAIRE *et al.*, *Le Pas-de-Calais* (CAG 62/1), Paris 1994, p. 198.

<sup>6</sup> S. AUFRÈRE, *Collections égyptiennes. Musées départementaux de la Seine maritime*, Rouen 1987, n° 414-416 p. 191.

Enfin, il convient d'ajouter quatre yeux oudjat, un en granit et trois en fritte émaillée, et des perles, relevés dans un cercueil en grès avec d'autres éléments mérovingiens à Saint-Paul-d'Espis, entre Agen et Montauban (Tarn-et-Garonne)<sup>7</sup>.

La signification de ce type de documents se révèle délicate à établir. Il pourrait, dans certains cas, s'agir d'une mauvaise interprétation des fouilleurs. De nombreux cimetières mérovingiens ont en effet pris le relais de cimetières romains plus anciens et cela a pu susciter une certaine confusion, d'autant que la stratigraphie n'était guère établie au XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle, quand la plupart de ces découvertes furent réalisées. Cependant, la réutilisation d'objets à caractère apotropaïque ou prophylactique par des 'barbares' n'est pas à exclure: on se souvient du changement de nom de l'Alaman Agenarich, fils de Mederich, en Sarapion<sup>8</sup>, au moment de la bataille de Strasbourg en 357.

Les exemples recensés sont uniquement français, mais le même phénomène peut intervenir ailleurs. J. Leclant signale par exemple la présence d'un scarabée de la première moitié du 1<sup>er</sup> millénaire avant J.-C. dans une tombe byzantine située dans une crypte funéraire attenante à l'église des Lions d'Umm al-Rasas en Jordanie<sup>9</sup>. Là encore se pose le problème de la datation, puisque mille ans séparent la création de l'objet de sa réutilisation. Non loin de là, un décor sur un encrion en bronze figurant Osiris-Canope, Sarapis, Hermanubis et Harpocrate-Héraklès, a été trouvé dans une tombe romaine syrienne avec une monnaie du V<sup>e</sup> siècle<sup>10</sup>.

Nombre de ces objets ne sont pas isiaques mais relèvent plutôt de la sphère égyptienne ou égyptisante, ils peuvent davantage être associés à un contexte culturel. Il n'est cependant pas sûr que cette distinction soit

<sup>7</sup> *Bulletin de la société archéologique du Tarn-et-Garonne* (1895), p. 171. Ils sont conservés au musée de Montauban; J.-L. PODVIN, *La collection égyptienne du Musée Ingres, Bulletin du Musée Ingres* 61-62 (1990), p. 59-65.

<sup>8</sup> Ammien Marcellin, *Res Gestae* XVI 12.25.

<sup>9</sup> J. LECLANT et G. CLERC, *Découvertes d'objets égyptiens et égyptisants hors d'Égypte, Orientalia* 66 (1997), p. 356-363, d'après A. NICCACCI, *Uno scarabeo in una tomba bizantina*, dans M. PICCIRILLO et E. ALLIATA, *Umm al-Rasas. Mayra'ah, I. Gli scavi del complesso di Santo Stefano*, Jérusalem 1994, p. 275-276, fig. p. 275 et pl. XXIV, 2. Le scarabée est décoré au plat d'un dieu à tête de faucon, d'un sphinx couché et inscrit du nom d'Amon-Rê.

<sup>10</sup> K. PARLASCA, *Akten des XXIV. Internationalen Orientalisten-Kongresses*, Munich 1957 [1959], p. 72, n° 3. Référence aimablement communiquée par Veit Vaelske que nous remercions. Il est conservé à Damas: G. CLERC, J. LECLANT, *Osiris Kanopos, LIMC* VII.1, n° 76 p. 126 et VII.2, p. 90.



encore pertinente à cette époque. Il conviendrait de savoir si d'autres cas existent dans le bassin méditerranéen et si, là encore, les *isiaca* sont quasiment absents.

La question de la valeur à attribuer à ce type d'objets se pose d'autant plus que l'on peut trouver d'autres références totalement dépourvues d'influences religieuses dans les sépultures mérovingiennes. Ainsi, sur des colliers et bracelets d'époque mérovingiennes exposés au musée lorrain à Nancy<sup>11</sup>, ce sont des monnaies en or et en bronze d'époque gauloise et gallo-romaine qui sont associées à des éléments en pâte de verre, sans aucune signification religieuse apparente!

Avec l'émergence du christianisme, un certain nombre d'ampoules de saint Ménas ont été trouvées et prolongent, désormais par le truchement de pèlerinages, l'influence égyptienne qui existait auparavant. Deux ampoules de saint Menas en terre cuite ont ainsi été relevées à Paris, dans des tombes mérovingiennes du cimetière de Saint-Julien-le-pauvre<sup>12</sup>.

## 2. LES DOCUMENTS TROUVÉS DANS LES FONDATIONS OU À PROXIMITÉ IMMÉDIATE D'ÉDIFICES CHRÉTIENS

Plusieurs savants ont déjà mis en relief la continuité entre certains sites isiaques et d'autres chrétiens. E. Mâle<sup>13</sup> a montré la 'récupération' de sites païens par les églises chrétiennes et l'enfouissement des statues pour faire disparaître leur puissance. Il ne s'arrête pas là puisqu'il voit dans le clocher de la cathédrale Saint-Front à Périgueux une influence du phare d'Alexandrie; dans les tissus protecteurs des reliques du trésor de la cathédrale de Sens et sans doute d'autres églises, une origine égyptienne copte; dans les croix ansées et les têtes d'animaux des évangélistes, une influence des dieux égyptiens païens, en raison notamment des contacts entre ces deux espaces. Il s'appuie sur le fait que certains évêques gaulois étaient originaires d'Égypte (Cassien, évêque d'Autun au milieu du IV<sup>e</sup> siècle, était alexandrin). D'autre part, Alexandrie était le centre principal de production d'ivoire, utilisée pour recouvrir les

<sup>11</sup> ML 143.07, 142.07; 140.07 et CG 19.07.

<sup>12</sup> Ph. VELAY, *La Montagne Sainte Geneviève: 4 000 ans d'histoire au cœur de Paris*, *Archéologia* 153, avril 1981, p. 6-20, avec fig.

<sup>13</sup> E. MÂLE, *La fin du paganisme en Gaule et les plus anciennes basiliques chrétiennes*, Paris 1950, p. 48-52.

évangéliaires ou pour fabriquer les pyxides<sup>14</sup>, ce avant la conquête musulmane au milieu du VII<sup>e</sup> siècle. Peut-être est-ce une de ces pyxides qu'imite d'ailleurs un exemplaire en os découvert à Fréjus (Le Clos de la Tour, Var) qui figure, semble-t-il, un uræus de face<sup>15</sup>. S. Morenz considère que plusieurs thèmes égyptiens apparaissent dans l'iconographie du Moyen Âge, comme le dieu sur le lotus, le phénix, la pesée des âmes qui rappelle la psychostasie, et certaines icônes font de saint Christophe le successeur d'Anubis<sup>16</sup>. De son côté, G.-R. Delahaye a récemment relativisé l'influence artistique égyptienne sur le Haut Moyen Âge occidental<sup>17</sup>.

L. Vidman estime que les cultes isiaques auraient perduré plus longtemps que celui de Mithra à la fin du IV<sup>e</sup> s. que ce soit à Alexandrie ou à Rome, peut-être parce qu'il semblait un rempart pour les derniers païens. De fait, en 417, on célèbre encore la fête de l'*inventio Osiridis* à Falerie, en Italie<sup>18</sup> et cela ne manque pas de surprendre Rutilius Namatianus. Dans la première moitié du VI<sup>e</sup> siècle, la fête du *Navigium Isidis* est encore attestée le 3 des nones de mars, soit le 5 de ce mois, pour l'ouverture de la navigation<sup>19</sup>. A Catane, en Sicile, les fêtes du culte d'Isis pourraient même avoir été récupérées par le culte de sainte Agathe<sup>20</sup>.

En Égypte même, la suppression du paganisme s'accompagne de la disparition des temples ou de leur transformation en églises. Hölbl a montré que certains dieux païens sont 'récupérés' par les chrétiens: ainsi, on retrouve des éléments de Sarapis *Cosmocrator* dans le Christ *Pantocrator*, de Thot chez l'archange Michel, d'Anubis chez Saint Christophe,

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 282-288.

<sup>15</sup> J.-C. BÉAL, M. FEUGÈRE, *Les pyxides gallo-romaines en os de Gaule méridionale, Documents d'archéologie méridionale* 6 (1983), n° 10 p. 122, fig. 4 et 11 p. 118 et 124.

<sup>16</sup> S. MORENZ, *Die Begegnung Europas mit Ägypten (Sitzungsberichte der Sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig, Phil.-Hist. Klasse, Bd 113, Heft 5)*, Berlin 1968, p. 127-136.

<sup>17</sup> Les nombreuses études de G.-R. DELAHAYE ne peuvent toutes être citées ici. Mentionnons cependant *Relations artistiques entre l'Égypte et la Gaule aux VI<sup>e</sup> et VII<sup>e</sup> siècles?*, *Études Coptes* 6 (2000), p. 43-49.

<sup>18</sup> L. VIDMAN, *Isis, Mithras und das Christentum*, dans *Das Korpus der griechisch-christlichen Schriftsteller*, Berlin 1977, p. 237-242; P. CHUVIN, *Chronique des derniers païens*, Paris 1991, p. 195, d'après Rutilius Namatianus, *Sur son retour*, v. 371-376.

<sup>19</sup> Jean de Lydie, *Des mois*, 4, 45. Nous remercions notre collègue Daphné Gondicas de son aide pour la compréhension de ce texte.

<sup>20</sup> Le nom de la sainte, Agathe, peut être rapproché d'*Agathè Daimôn*; les dates des fêtes sont proches (début mars pour Isis, un mois avant pour Agathe): sur ces rapprochements mais aussi ses limites, P. CHUVIN, *op. cit.* (n. 18), p. 270-272.

d'Isis *lactans* chez Marie<sup>21</sup>. Pourtant, des poches de résistance païenne sont attestées assez tardivement à Philae: la statue d'Isis est déplacée chaque année pour les Blemmyes au milieu du V<sup>e</sup> siècle, et la fermeture définitive du temple n'intervient qu'un siècle plus tard en 537<sup>22</sup>.

Faut-il pour autant, comme E. Stauffer, voir dans Isis une origine possible du culte marial, notamment parce que le titre de *théotokos* (mère de Dieu) qui lui fut donné par le concile d'Éphèse en 431, puiserait ses sources dans le culte d'Isis en Égypte? Pour étayer cette hypothèse, il rappelle l'édification d'églises sur le site de temples isiaques à Soissons et Bénévent, de statues de la déesse réutilisées dans les églises, ou d'attributs isiaques passés dans le culte marial<sup>23</sup>. V. Tran Tam Tinh a judicieusement souligné que l'écart chronologique entre la disparition des représentations d'Isis *lactans* et le développement de celles de Marie *lactans* est trop important pour qu'un lien sérieux puisse être établi entre les deux<sup>24</sup>.

A partir de ces réflexions, qu'en est-il des découvertes sur le terrain? En France, deux statuettes funéraires ont été découvertes dans une sorte de caveau sis sous la sacristie de la cathédrale de Bazas (Gironde)<sup>25</sup>. A Lyon, une dédicace à Isis *augusta* sur une statue de la Fortune fut trouvée en 1856, au couvent de la visitation<sup>26</sup>; à Bourg-en-Bresse, un Apis en bronze dut être découvert devant l'église de Brou<sup>27</sup>. A Vitry-en-Perthois (Marne), un bronze d'Isis *lactans* a été trouvé dans les murs de la chapelle Sainte-Geneviève, des XI<sup>e</sup>-XII<sup>e</sup> siècles<sup>28</sup>, et une statue et un bas-relief

<sup>21</sup> G. HÖBL, *Ägyptische Religion im römischen Reich, Spätantike und frühes Christentum*, dans *Ausstellung im Liebighaus, Museum alter Plastik* (Frankfurt am Main, 16. Dezember 1983 bis 11. März 1984), Francfort 1983, p. 98-110. Voir aussi J. DORESSE, *Des hiéroglyphes à la croix. Ce que le passé pharaonique a légué au christianisme*, Istanbul 1960, qui établit un lien entre les évangélistes et les fils d'Horus.

<sup>22</sup> P. CHUVIN, *op. cit.*, p. 145-146 avec références.

<sup>23</sup> E. STAUFFER, *Antike Madonnenreligion*, ANRW II 17.3, Berlin 1984, p. 1425-1499, en particulier p. 1489-1493.

<sup>24</sup> Voir par exemple V. TRAN TAM TINH, *De nouveau Isis lactans*, dans *Hommages à Maarten J. Vermaseren* (EPRO 68.3), Leyde 1978, p. 1234-1239.

<sup>25</sup> P. GRIMAL, *Gallia* VII.1 (1949), p. 131 avec fig.; J.-B. MARQUETTE, *Richesses archéologiques du Bazadais (neuvième partie). Canton de Bazas (suite)*, *Cahiers du Bazadais* 13 (1967), p. 1-20, 3 fig. J. Leclant, qui a récemment visité le site, nous a confié qu'il s'agissait d'un bâtiment annexe et non de la cathédrale proprement dite.

<sup>26</sup> L. BRICAULT, *Recueil des inscriptions concernant les cultes isiaques [RICIS]* (*Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, 31), Paris 2005, 607/012.

<sup>27</sup> R. TURCAN, *Les religions orientales en Gaule Narbonnaise et dans la vallée du Rhône*, ANRW II 18.1, Berlin 1986, p. 476 et 478.

<sup>28</sup> J.-L. PODVIN, *Les Égyptiens au pays du champagne*, SAK 16 (1989), p. 245-253, pl. 5; *Deux bronzes égyptiens au Musée Garinet de Châlons-sur-Marne*, RAECE 41.1 (1990), p. 160-161; J. LECLANT, *A propos des Aegyptiaca du haut moyen âge en France*, p. 77-80.



de la déesse dans les fondations de l'église Sainte Marguerite à Châlons-en-Champagne<sup>29</sup>. A Soissons (Aisne), une inscription à Isis myrionyme et à Sarapis, dédiée par un esclave impérial, Exspectatus, a été mise au jour près de la sacristie de la cathédrale<sup>30</sup>. A Amiens, une statuette funéraire (*shaouabty*), en l'occurrence un dizénier en faïence vernissée, a été exhumée devant le parvis de la cathédrale<sup>31</sup>. A Corseul (Bretagne), un Harpocrate en argile a été relevé à peu de distance de l'église<sup>32</sup>. En revanche, nous n'avons pas retenu deux statues qui auraient été retrouvées très anciennement dans les fondations de l'église sainte Eustache à Paris et dont J. Leclant a mis en doute la réalité<sup>33</sup>.

En Allemagne, une lampe grenouille, qu'on estime liée à la résurrection, a été trouvée sous une église (*Aegidien Kirche*) à Quedlinburg, en Halle<sup>34</sup>. En Autriche, une dédicace à Isis-Noreia, dans les fondations de l'église du X<sup>e</sup> s., près de la cathédrale, à Salzburg, est sans fondement selon L. Bricault<sup>35</sup>. Sur l'Ulrichsberg, un temple isiaque se serait dressé, relayé au V<sup>e</sup> siècle par une chapelle chrétienne<sup>36</sup>.

C'est en Italie que ces objets sont les plus nombreux. Des *isiaca* et des inscriptions ont été retrouvés tout près du théâtre et de l'église S. Stefano de Vérone, et certains y voient l'indice de la présence d'un *iseum*<sup>37</sup>. A Bologne, l'*iseum* présumé est situé à l'endroit où s'élève une

<sup>29</sup> R. CHOSSENOT (dir.), *La Marne* (CAG 51-1), Paris 2004, p. 318.

<sup>30</sup> J.-L. PODVIN, *Aegyptiaca de Picardie*, CE 65 (1990), p. 45-46.

<sup>31</sup> J.-L. PODVIN, *Aegyptiaca de Picardie*, CE 65 (1990), p. 47-48; *Du nouveau sur un shaouabry du Musée d'Amiens*, BSAP 1998, p. 52-58.

<sup>32</sup> L. RICHARD, *Un Harpocrate de bronze en provenance de Corseul*, *Annales de Bretagne* 75 (1968), p. 203-211.

<sup>33</sup> J. LECLANT, *En quête de l'égyptomanie*, *Revue de l'Art*, 1969/5, p. 85-86 n. 29 et 56, les rejette.

<sup>34</sup> H. MENZEL, *Antike Lampen im Römisch-germanischen Zentralmuseum zu Mainz*, Mayence 1954, p. 89 et fig. 75.

<sup>35</sup> H. VETTERS, *FA XX*, 1965 [1969], n° 6532, p. 416; *RICIS* 612/0101.

<sup>36</sup> S. CIBU, B. RÉMY, *Isis et les dieux égyptiens dans les provinces alpines*, dans L. BRICAULT (éd.), *Isis en Occident. Actes du II<sup>e</sup> Colloque international sur les études isiaques* (Lyon, mai 2002), Leyde 2004, p. 148, d'après H. KENNER, *Die Götterwelt der Austria Romana*, *JÖAI* 43 (1956-58), p. 58-59. Il n'est par retenu par L. BRICAULT dans son *Atlas de la diffusion des cultes isiaques* (*Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, 23), Paris 2000.

<sup>37</sup> E. ROSSINI, *Resti di culti orientali a Santo Stefano*, *Vita Veronese* 19 (1966), p. 443-451; L. FRANZONI, *Documenti epigrafici circa la presenza di un Iseo e Serapeo a Verona*, dans *Il territorio veronese in età romana. Atti del convegno tenuto a Verona* (22-23-24 Ottobre 1971), Verone 1973, p. 179-182; S. CURTO, *Antichità egittizzanti in Verona*, dans *Il territorio veronese in età romana*, p. 185-197; M. VERZAR-BASS, *Il culto di Iside a Verona e ad Aquileia*, dans G. SENA CHIESA, E.A. ARSLAN (éds), *Optima via. Atti del convegno internazionale di studi «Postumia. Storia e archeologia di una grande strada romana alle radici dell'Europa»* (Cremona, 13-15 giugno 1996), Crémone 1998, p. 207-219.

basilique du même San Stefano<sup>38</sup> : on y a découvert dans un mur de l'église SS. Pietro e Paolo toute proche une dédicace à Isis *victrix*<sup>39</sup>, une inscription hiéroglyphique, et un cippe consacré à Isis<sup>40</sup>.

Dans l'*Urbs*, un *mithraeum* a été découvert sous l'église Santa Prisca. Ce *mithraeum*, réalisé sous Septime Sévère, fut détruit vers 400 par les chrétiens de l'église Santa Prisca voisine. On y a retrouvé des *isiaca* : tête de Sarapis, statuette en marbre de Sarapis, lampe ornée sur le manche d'Isis et Sarapis côte à côte, tête de Sarapis en terre cuite et statue en porphyre du même dieu. Un bloc en basalte de Nectanéno 1<sup>er</sup> («table de Ficoroni») a été trouvé à proximité<sup>41</sup>. Plusieurs documents isiaques dont une inscription à Isis *regina* et une statue d'Isis ont été relevés près de S. Maria in Domnica<sup>42</sup> (*Regio* II), sur l'emplacement de l'*iseum Metellinum*. Dans la *Regio* III, un ensemble de documents ont été découverts près de SS. Marcellino e Pietro, où s'élevait peut-être un autre temple de la déesse<sup>43</sup>. Dans la *Regio* V, c'est un lairair qui a été trouvé près de S. Martino ai Monti avec des statues de Sarapis, Isis, Harpocrate<sup>44</sup>.

L'*iseum* du Champ de Mars dans la *Regio* IX voué en 43 avant J.-C. par les triumvirs Octave, Antoine et Lépide, restauré par Domitien puis Alexandre Sévère, se situait dans la zone proche des églises S. Stefano del Cacco et Sta Maria sopra Minerva et c'est de là que proviennent nombre d'*aegyptiaca* conservés au musée du Capitole<sup>45</sup> dont un sphinx en granit rouge au nom de la reine Hatshepsout, découvert en 1856 près

<sup>38</sup> Est-ce un hasard? Toujours est-il que c'est le portrait de saint Etienne qui fut placé dans le temple de Philae en 537 quand il fut définitivement récupéré aux derniers païens: R. MACMULLEN, *Christianisme et paganisme du IV<sup>e</sup> au VIII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Paris 1998, p. 177, d'après P. NAUTIN, *La conversion du temple de Philae en église chrétienne*, *Cahiers archéologiques* 17 (1967), p. 6, 18, 27.

<sup>39</sup> G.C. SUSINI, *Testimonianze egizie nell'Emilia in epoca romana*, dans *L'Egitto antico nelle collezioni dell'Italia settentrionale* (Bologna, Museo Civico, 31 Octobre-3 Décembre 1961), p. 161-167 et pl. 71-72; *RICIS* 512/0502.

<sup>40</sup> G. SUSINI, *Il lapidario greco e romano di Bologna*, dans G. SUSINI et R. PINCELLI, *Il lapidario*, Bologne 1960, p. VII-XV et 3-194, pl. I-XXI; *RICIS* 512/0503.

<sup>41</sup> M.J. VERMASEREN et C.C. VAN ESSEN, *The Excavations in the Mithraeum of the Church of Santa Prisca in Rome*, Leyde 1965, p. 134-135, pl. CIV 5-6 et CV, p. 433 n° 11, pl. CVII, p. 488 n° 152, pl. CXXX 3-4.

<sup>42</sup> M.J. VERSLUYS, *Aegyptiaca Romana. Nilotic Scenes and the Roman Views of Egypt*, Leyde 2002, p. 336-337.

<sup>43</sup> Etat de la question dans M. J. VERSLUYS, *op. cit.*, p. 338-344.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 345-346.

<sup>45</sup> H. BARDON, *Le Crépuscule des Césars. Scènes et visages de l'«Histoire Auguste»*, Paris 1964, p. 166; M.J. VERSLUYS, *op. cit.*, p. 353.

de Sta Maria sopra Minerva<sup>46</sup>. D'autres *aegyptiaca* du même musée ont été exhumés près de l'église SS. Pietro e Marcellino (*Regio III*) où s'élevait peut-être un autre *iseum*<sup>47</sup>. Près de l'église Sta Sabina, sur l'Aventin, des fouilles visant à étudier l'*iseum* hors de la ville ont montré des graffitis invoquant Isis et diverses scènes nilotiques, mais aussi une lampe égyptisante<sup>48</sup>.

A *Cereatae Marianae* (Anitrella, près de Casamari, dans le Latium), une dédicace à Sarapis a été trouvée en 1856 devant l'église<sup>49</sup>. A Taormine, l'église S. Pancrazio se dresserait sur un ancien temple de Jupiter puis d'Isis et Sarapis: on y a mis au jour la statue d'une prêtresse d'Isis, une dédicace en latin aux dieux et une autre en grec<sup>50</sup>. A Cagliari, en Sardaigne, un sphinx a été relevé devant la cathédrale et laisserait à penser que ce monument du XIII<sup>e</sup> s. se serait installé sur un temple d'Isis; d'autre part, un Osiris-Canope a été découvert sur le site du monastère de San Mauro<sup>51</sup>.

A Pikermi, dans l'Attique, une colonne en marbre mise au jour près de l'église comportait deux inscriptions des 1<sup>er</sup> siècle av. et 1<sup>er</sup> siècle apr. J.-C. Elles concernent un temple d'Isis et Sarapis, qui se trouvait sans doute sous l'église de la Métamorphose<sup>52</sup>. A Xeromini (près de Thespies) en Béotie, une inscription d'époque romaine en l'honneur d'Isis, Sarapis et Harpocrate, a été découverte dans les ruines de l'église du lieu<sup>53</sup>. A Mandra, un autel en marbre blanc a été anciennement exhumé à l'emplacement de l'église St Georges: pourtant, il apparaît qu'il provient initialement de Thasos<sup>54</sup>.

<sup>46</sup> C. PIETRANGELI, *Museo Barraco di scultura antica. Guida*, Rome 1960, p. 50-51 n° 13.

<sup>47</sup> S. BOSTICCO, *Musei Capitolini, I Monumenti egizi ed egittizzanti*, Rome 1952.

<sup>48</sup> F. DARSY, *Recherches archéologiques à Sainte-Sabine (Monumenti dell'Antichità Cristiana, II serie, IX)*, Rome 1968, p. 26-35.

<sup>49</sup> S. PANCIERA, *Miscellanea Storico-epigrafica II, Epigraphica* 25 (1962), p. 78-105; *RICIS* 502/0602.

<sup>50</sup> M. SANTANGELO, *Taormina e dintorni*, Rome 1950, p. 61-62; *RICIS* 518/0302 et 518/0301.

<sup>51</sup> G. PESCE, *Il libro delle sfingi. Il culto dei massimi déi dell'Egitto in Sardegna*, Cagliari 1978, p. 89-90.

<sup>52</sup> J.J. POLLITT, *The Egyptian Gods in Attica: Some Epigraphical Evidence*, *Hesperia* 34 (1965), p. 125-130 et pl. 40; *RICIS* 101/0401-0402.

<sup>53</sup> St. KOUMANOUDIS, Λούκιος Ουιβούλλιος Σπάνιος, *AAA* 3 (1970), p. 102-105. Elle est conservée au Musée de Thèbes: *RICIS* 105/0402.

<sup>54</sup> M.G. PARISSAKI, *Mandra, Abdère et Thasos. Remarques sur deux inscriptions errantes*, *Tekmeria* 7 (2002), p. 107-115; L. BRICAULT, *RICIS. Supplément I*, dans *Bibliotheca Isiaca I*, Bordeaux 2008, 201/0104, p. 89.

A Éphèse, le temple à l'ouest de l'agora, considéré comme un *serapeum* du II<sup>e</sup> s. de notre ère, a été transformé ultérieurement en église<sup>55</sup>. Enfin, à Pétra, une améthyste décorée d'un Sarapis a été trouvée en 1990 au cours de la fouille d'une église de la fin du V<sup>e</sup> siècle<sup>56</sup>.

A côté de ces témoignages archéologiques, on se méfiera d'assertions visant à faire de certains sites des lieux de culte isiaques. J.-M. Humbert a eu l'occasion de développer cet aspect au cours du Premier Colloque sur les études isiaques de Poitiers en 1999, à propos des pseudo *isea* de Melun ou de Saint-Germain-des-Prés<sup>57</sup>. C'est aussi le cas de Selles-sur-Cher (Berry) où un érudit local avait cru voir dans l'église du lieu la prolongation d'un temple isiaque et dans la légende d'un saint local, Eusice, des liens avec le culte d'Isis<sup>58</sup>.

On aura remarqué là encore le manque de précisions de nombre d'informations et leur extrême dispersion dans des revues et ouvrages souvent confidentiels. Le principal handicap est la mention «près de» ou «à proximité de» qui ne constitue pas une preuve surtout en certains lieux comme Rome où le visiteur se trouve toujours à proximité d'une église! De même, il est difficile d'obtenir des informations sur l'ancienneté des lieux de culte chrétiens. Sont-ils présents depuis les premiers siècles du christianisme — et dans ce cas ils ont pu exploiter l'emplacement sacré d'un temple isiaque antérieur — ou sont-ils plus tardifs, auquel cas ce rapprochement est sans objet si l'espace sacré a connu un long hiatus? Seule une enquête sur le terrain, site après site, serait susceptible d'apporter une réponse claire à cette interrogation.

Nous n'avons pas retenu les obélisques, particulièrement 'mobiles', quelle que soit l'époque. Enfin, rappelons une fois de plus que la présence d'une inscription ou d'un objet isiaque ne fait pas automatiquement d'un lieu un foyer isiaque.

<sup>55</sup> J. KEIL, *Ephesos. Ein Führer durch die Ruinenstätte und ihre Geschichte*, Österreichisches Archäologisches Institut, Vienne, 3e éd., 1955, p. 84-87, fig. 48, 52-53.

<sup>56</sup> J. LECLANT, G. CLERC, *Orientalia* 65 (1996), p. 349, d'après Z.T. FIEMA, *Une église byzantine à Pétra*, *Archéologia* 302, juin 1994, p. 34.

<sup>57</sup> J.-M. HUMBERT, *Les nouveaux mystères d'Isis, ou les avatars d'un mythe du XVI<sup>e</sup> au XX<sup>e</sup> siècle*, dans *De Memphis à Rome*, Leyde 2000, p. 164-165.

<sup>58</sup> M. DEWACHTER, *Isis et Selles-sur-Cher*, *Carobrias* 3 (1980), p. 6-16.

## 3. LES DOCUMENTS RÉUTILISÉS DANS DES ÉDIFICES CHRÉTIENS

Le troisième groupe de témoignages rassemble ceux qui ont été découverts dans les murs mêmes de bâtiments religieux actuels ou passés. Examinons la documentation.

Huit chapiteaux, trouvés dans les thermes de Caracalla, ont été réutilisées dans l'église S. Maria in Trastevere à Rome. Ils ont parfois été considérés comme trouvés dans l'*iseum Campense*<sup>59</sup>. A Treia dans le Picenum, des éléments sculptés ont été retrouvés murés dans l'église de S. Crocifisso, dont on estime qu'elle se situait peut-être à l'emplacement d'un temple de dieux orientaux. Il s'agit d'une tête en marbre de Sarapis, de débris de deux statues en marbre vert égyptien, l'une masculine et l'autre féminine<sup>60</sup>. Dans un mur de l'église S. Zeno de Pise, a été mis au jour un relief votif en marbre d'un certain Titos Phlaouios Pharnoutianos Rouphos, décoré du lotus d'Harpocrate, du *modius* de Sarapis et des plumes d'Isis (II<sup>e</sup> s.)<sup>61</sup>. Dans la même ville, un chapiteau a été réutilisé sur un des murs extérieurs de l'église S. Felice: il figure Harpocrate entouré de deux victoires ailées, Isis et Cérès sur les côtés<sup>62</sup>. A Trieste, une dédicace fragmentaire à Isis *Augusta* a été découverte dans l'église S. Iusto<sup>63</sup>. A Còmpito, près de Savignano, sur le Rubicon, les fragments d'une statue antique d'Isis ont été réutilisés comme représentation de Marie<sup>64</sup>.

En Allemagne, à Cologne, une statue d'Isis trônant, avec l'inscription *Iside invicte* a été découverte dans l'église Sainte Ursule où elle était recyclée en tant que chapiteau, ainsi qu'un Apis acéphale en calcaire portant l'inscription *Isidi*<sup>65</sup> et un autel fragmentaire avec la même

<sup>59</sup> E. VON MERCKLIN, *Antike Figuralkapitelle*, Berlin 1962, n° 328, p. 123-125, fig. 623-624, 626-634; M.J. VERSLUYS, *op. cit.* (n. 42), p. 365 n. 497 et p. 369.

<sup>60</sup> G. SUSINI, *Il santuario orientale di Treia*, *Studi Romagnoli* 18 (1967), p. 293-295; G. Bejor, *Trea. Un municipium piceno minore*, Pise 1977, p. 77-79, fig. 18-19.

<sup>61</sup> M. CRISTOFANI, *Un rilievo votivo da Pisa con dedica ai ΘΕΟΙ ΕΠΗΚΟΟΙ*, *SCO* 19-20 (1970-1971), p. 343-346.

<sup>62</sup> A. NEPPI MODONA, *Forma Italiae, Regio VII: Etruria*, vol. I: *Pisae*, Rome 1953, p. 19.

<sup>63</sup> P. STICOTTI, *Inscriptiones Italiae*, vol. X, *Regio X*, fasc. IV, *Tergeste*, Rome 1951, n° 9, p. 4 avec fig.; *RICIS* 514/0501.

<sup>64</sup> G. SUSINI, *Nuove antichità del Còmpito sul Rubicone*, dans *Atti e Memorie della Deputazione di Storia per le province di Romagna*, N.S. 5 (1953-1954), p. 280-283; A. SCARPELLINI, *Vestigia romane sulle sponde del Rubicone*, dans *Emilia Romana* I, Florence 1941, p. 191-193, pl. II, fig. 5-6.

<sup>65</sup> G. RISTOW, *Der Apis-Stier aus St. Ursula. Ein Neufund des Römisch-Germanischen Museums*, dans *Museen in Köln, Bulletin* 7, janvier 1968, p. 631-632, avec fig. p. 632; ID., *Denkmäler hellenistischer Mysterienkulte in kölnen Museumsbesitz – Ägyptische Kultgruppe*, *KJ* 10 (1969), p. 68-75, pl. 3-12; *RICIS* 610/0302, III<sup>e</sup> s.

inscription<sup>66</sup>. Dans l'église Saint Géréon, c'est un autel du III<sup>e</sup> siècle dédié à Isis myryonyme qui fut trouvé dans les fondations d'un pilier du côté nord alors qu'un ex-voto à Sol-Sarapis *cum sua cline* a été relevé à proximité de la cathédrale<sup>67</sup>. Toujours dans l'église Saint Géréon, deux autres dédicaces à Isis des II<sup>e</sup>-III<sup>e</sup> siècles ont été récemment publiées<sup>68</sup>. Selon M. Haase, cela ne permet pas pour autant d'affirmer que ce lieu était, dans l'antiquité, un sanctuaire isiaque puisqu'il se trouvait au cœur d'une nécropole<sup>69</sup>. A Aix-la-Chapelle, la chaire de la cathédrale est décorée d'une représentation d'Isis qui porte Harpocrate et un vaisseau<sup>70</sup>.

A Wettingen, en Suisse, c'est une dédicace d'un *iseum* qui a été découverte murée dans le clocher de l'église Saint Sébastien<sup>71</sup>. A Flavia Solva, près de Leibnitz (Norique), un temple isiaque a été mis au jour. Non loin de là, dans le mur de la sacristie de l'église St Nikolai-im-Sausal, une stèle a été découverte emmurée, qui porte un enfant à la mèche horienne caractéristique et un oiseau<sup>72</sup>: à Virunum s'élevait un temple isiaque. A Savaria (Pannonie supérieure), les ruines de l'*iseum*, probablement abandonné au IV<sup>e</sup> siècle et détruit par un séisme en 455-456, ont servi de carrière pour l'édification de l'abbaye de Jak à l'époque médiévale et même baroque<sup>73</sup>.

En Grèce, à Paros, un décret du II<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. sur bloc de marbre, relatif à un temple de Sarapis, a été réutilisé dans le baptistère de l'église de la Katopoliani<sup>74</sup>. A Messène où un sanctuaire isiaque est mentionné par Pausanias, une inscription des III<sup>e</sup>-IV<sup>e</sup> s. au nom de la déesse a été

<sup>66</sup> RICIS 610/0303.

<sup>67</sup> H. SCHOPPA, *Römische Götterdenkmäler in Köln (Die Denkmäler des römischen Köln, Bd XXII)*, Cologne 1959, p. 35-36, pl. 94-95; A. VON GERKAN, *St Gereon in Köln, Germania* 29 (1951), p. 215-218, fig. 3-4; F. FREMERSDORF, *Cologne gallo-romaine et chrétienne*, dans *Mémorial d'un voyage d'études de la Société Nationale des Antiquaires de France en Rhénanie (Juillet 1951)*, Paris 1953, p. 113-118; RICIS 610/0305 et 610/0304.

<sup>68</sup> B. et H. GALSTERER, dans *KJ* 20 (1987), p. 84-85.

<sup>69</sup> M. HAASE, *Kulte der Isis in der germanischen Provinzen*, dans L. BRICAULT (éd.), *Isis en Occident*, p. 118-120.

<sup>70</sup> J. BALTRUŠAITIS, *Essai sur la légende d'un mythe. La quête d'Isis. Introduction à l'égyptomanie*, Paris 1985, p. 124-125.

<sup>71</sup> S. REBETEZ, *Des cultes égyptiens en «Suisse romaine»?*, dans *Voyages en Égypte de l'Antiquité au début du XX<sup>e</sup> siècle*. Exposition du Musée d'art et d'histoire, Genève 2003, p. 40-41.

<sup>72</sup> E. DIEZ, "Horusknaben" in *Noricum, JÖAI* (1968-1971), p. 114-120.

<sup>73</sup> E. VARGA, *La collection égyptienne du musée des Beaux-Arts de Budapest, BSFE* 36 (1963), p. 31-32.

<sup>74</sup> W. LAMBRINUDAKIS, M. WÖRRLE, *Ein hellenistisches Reformgesetz über das öffentliche Urkundenwesen von Paros, Chiron* 13 (1983), p. 355-357 et pl. 12; RICIS 202/1001.

réutilisée dans la basilique du lieu<sup>75</sup>. A Laïna, en Macédoine, une inscription dédiée à Sarapis et Isis fut découverte réutilisée dans l'église locale<sup>76</sup>. A Ambracie, en Epire, une inscription à Isis Nebouto et Harpocrate avait été transformée en autel dans une église<sup>77</sup>. A l'extrême nord-est de Chypre, à Aphendrika, une dédicace à Sarapis et Isis d'un certain Timon a été exhumée des ruines d'une église<sup>78</sup>.

Signalons pour terminer, en Espagne, une dédicace à Isis qui provient de l'église d'Outeiro Jusao<sup>79</sup> et, en Tunisie, à Henchir el-Attermine, un relief isiaque de deux mètres de haut, qui a été réutilisé dans une église: il porte au revers une épitaphe chrétienne des IV<sup>e</sup>-V<sup>e</sup> siècles<sup>80</sup>.

Ces quelques exemples montrent que les chrétiens n'ont pas hésité à réutiliser des éléments en provenance de temples païens — pas seulement isiaques — pour édifier leurs églises tout comme ils ont pu, dans d'autres cas, récupérer des chapiteaux d'édifices publics. Il s'agit ici de récupération de matériau et non d'une quelconque adhésion aux croyances isiaques. Il semble au contraire raisonnable de penser que, s'ils étaient visibles des fidèles chrétiens — cas le plus rare, comme à Cologne —, les personnages et les inscriptions isiaques n'étaient plus compris de ceux-ci: la concurrence entre les deux aurait été jugée beaucoup trop dangereuse par les autorités catholiques. La plupart du temps, c'étaient des objets retournés qui étaient réemployés, donc sur l'autre face: tout risque était ainsi écarté<sup>81</sup>.

<sup>75</sup> To Ergon 48, 2001 [2002], p. 50 et *Praktika tis en Athinai Arcahiologikis Etaireias* 156, 2001 [2004], p. 82. Ces références nous ont été fournies par Richard Veymiers que nous remercions vivement.

<sup>76</sup> M.B. HATZOPOULOS, *Macedonian Institutions under the Kings II*, Athènes 1996, p. 94-95; *RICIS* 113/0801.

<sup>77</sup> M. PERANTHES, *Αμβρακία*, Athènes, p. 152; *RICIS* 111/0101.

<sup>78</sup> I. MICHAELIDOU-NICOLAOU, *Inscriptiones Cypriae Alphabeticae 1960-1961, I*, *Berytus* 14 (1963), p. 132-133; *RICIS* 401/0201.

<sup>79</sup> A. RODRÍGUEZ COLMENERO, *Aquae Flaviae. I: Fontes epigraphicas*, p. 128; *RICIS* 602/0601.

<sup>80</sup> N. DUVAL et F. BARATTE, *Le relief isiaque d'Henchir el Attermine*, *Revue du Louvre* 5/6 (1982), p. 327-334.

<sup>81</sup> Un cas particulier peut être évoqué: c'est la réutilisation d'intailles dans des objets chrétiens. M. DEWACHTER, *La collection égyptienne du Musée Champollion*, Figeac 1986, p. 15, fait allusion à des intailles égyptisantes serties dans des cabochons du reliquaire de la Sainte Foy de Conques. Cependant, cette splendide statue reliquaire ne fut décorée de ses intailles que vers l'an 1000. Nous ne retenons pas plus l'intaille en cornaline sertie dans le plat de reliure au Christ en majesté, à Namur, d'une part car elle fut sertie au XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle, d'autre part parce que c'est Fortuna et non Isis-Fortuna qui est figurée: L. WILMET, *Les intailles et le camée des orfèvreries du Trésor d'Oignies*, dans R. DIDIER et J. TOUSSAINT (dir.), *Autour de Hugo d'Oignies*, Namur 2003, p. 158-159.



On remarquera que des lois interdisaient en théorie cette réutilisation au cours du IV<sup>e</sup> siècle: une loi de Constance en 342 ordonne que «les bâtiments des temples situés hors des murs demeurent intacts et préservés» parce qu'ils offrent au peuple romain «la festivité des plaisirs traditionnels»<sup>82</sup>. Cependant, à la fin du siècle, ces réserves sont levées par une autre loi de 399, affichée à Damas, qui stipule que «s'il se trouve des temples dans les campagnes, qu'ils soient détruits (...) en les supprimant, on ôtera toute base à la superstition»<sup>83</sup>, mais elle est contredite un mois plus tard en Afrique: «Qu'au nom d'un bienfait de Nos Sanctions, personne ne tente de détruire les temples vides de tout ce qui est illicite. Nous décrétons en effet que ces édifices doivent demeurer intacts»<sup>84</sup>, puis réactivée en 435 à Constantinople: «Nous ordonnons que (...) tous leurs sanctuaires, leurs temples et leurs chapelles (...) soient détruits et purifiés par l'apposition du signe de la vénérable religion chrétienne»<sup>85</sup>. En 601, Grégoire le Grand, pour convertir les Angles, préconisait non pas de détruire les temples mais les idoles, de purifier ceux-là d'eau bénite, d'y établir des autels et ainsi, on ne changerait pas les lieux de culte pour lesquels existaient des habitudes<sup>86</sup>.

Pour conclure, force est de constater qu'avec le christianisme triomphant, et à l'exception de quelques poches résiduelles, éclairées par des témoignages épars, les cultes isiaques ont quasiment disparu à partir de la fin du IV<sup>e</sup> siècle, sous l'effet conjugué du prosélytisme chrétien et de la perte de leur mémoire par les adeptes. Il paraît dès lors difficile de trouver des traces organisées de leur prolongation au-delà de leur interdiction officielle sous Théodose<sup>87</sup>, car ils ne concernent plus que des

<sup>82</sup> Loi XVI 10.3 de Constance et Constant, du 1<sup>er</sup> novembre 342, dans R. DELMAIRE, F. RICHARD, *Les lois religieuses des empereurs romains de Constantin à Théodose II (312-438). Code Théodosien. Livre XVI*, Paris 2005, p. 430-431. P. CHUVIN, *Chronique des derniers païens*, p. 44, propose de la rapprocher d'une autre (*Code Théodosien* IX 17.2) contre les chauxfourneurs et récupérateurs de matériaux.

<sup>83</sup> Loi XVI 10.16 d'Honorius, du 10 juillet 399: *ibid.*, p. 452-453.

<sup>84</sup> Loi XVI 10.18 d'Honorius, du 20 août 399: *ibid.*, p. 454-455. La précédente, affichée à Damas, est adressée au préfet du Prétoire, alors que la seconde l'est au proconsul d'Afrique.

<sup>85</sup> Loi XVI 10.25 de Théodose et Valentinien, du 14 novembre 435: *ibid.*, p. 466-469.

<sup>86</sup> R. MACMULLEN, *Christianisme et paganisme du IV<sup>e</sup> au VIII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, p. 171 et n. 65, p. 306, d'après Grégoire le Grand, *Registre des Lettres*, XI, 56.

<sup>87</sup> Voir cependant P. CHUVIN, *Chronique des derniers païens, passim*.



groupes marginaux qui se sont éteints progressivement. Cela n'empêche pas la réutilisation d'objets ou de matériaux isiaques, dans les sépultures ou dans les églises. Même la question de la destruction des lieux de culte n'est guère aisée à trancher, nous l'avons vu.

Les destinées du culte d'Isis à plus longue échéance, par le biais des mythes qui relèvent plus de l'égyptomanie, n'ont pas été abordées ici, mais ce phénomène constitue, là encore, un sujet passionnant<sup>88</sup>.

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<sup>88</sup> Voir à ce sujet J. BALTRUŠAITIS, *Essai sur la légende d'un mythe. La quête d'Isis*. On consultera aussi fort à propos J. LECLANT, *En quête de l'égyptomanie*, *Revue de l'Art* 5 (1969), p. 82-88.

DIVINE MISSION AND HUMAN DESTINY  
MAURICE DRUON'S ALEXANDER ROMANCE  
FIFTY YEARS LATER

*amicis caris gratus auctor*

*Abstract:* Written on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the publication of Maurice Druon's historical novel on Alexander the Great (1958), the present article aims at putting this literary product in its historical context: the personal and familial background and literary career of the famous French novelist (1918-2009), the social and ideological shifts of the late 1950s, other contemporary Alexander novels like those of Roger Peyrefitte and Julien Tondriau. Having stated the value and impact of high-quality historical novels in general, the article analyzes the proper qualities and basic ideas of Druon's narrative, which presents itself as the diary of Alexander's main seer Aristandros. Inspired in part by certain 'egyptosophic' currents, the author tries to detect a global, basically religious, sense in history. Interpreted as one of the great 'divine bastards' of humankind, the Macedonian king is credited with a providential rôle. The study concludes with a rudimentary attempt to confront some aspects of Druon's seductive views with Alexander's own ideas and historical reality.

In 1958, now almost exactly half a century ago, Maurice Druon published his *Alexandre le Grand ou le roman d'un dieu* (475 p.)<sup>1</sup>. Released in Paris by Cino Del Duca and his '(Les) Éditions Mondiales', it would soon prove to be one of Druon's most exquisite historical (and, to a certain extent, also 'mythological') novels. Two years later, in 1960, 'La Guilde du Livre' in Lausanne produced an 'édition hors commerce', exclusively for its own members, under the abbreviated title *Alexandre le Dieu*. In that same year (1960) an English translation by Humphrey Hare, titled *Alexander the God*, came out both in London (Rupert Hart-Davis) and New York (Charles Scribner's Sons). By 1964 the title *Alexandre le Dieu* was also applied by Del Duca.

<sup>1</sup> Conceived as a symbolic albeit less conventional *antidoron* offered by the author to the contributors to the preceding issue of *Ancient Society*, the present article was practically rounded off in the early summer of 2008, i.e. more than a year before its actual publication. In the meantime, however, on Easter Tuesday the 14th of April 2009, Maurice Druon passed away at the blessed age of almost 91. May these unpretentious lines now also be dedicated to the memory of this grand old man of French letters.

Some time later a revised French edition, now called *Alexandre le Grand*, was issued in Paris: in 1969 by the 'Éditions Plon', and in 1974 as no. 3752 of the popular series 'Le Livre de Poche' (509 p.). This was re-issued in 1999 by Plon as part of a composite volume containing Druon's *Romans mythologiques*. As far as I know, this was the novel's last edition. Unless specified otherwise, I will refer in the following pages to what may be considered today as the standard version in its most widespread form: the French 'nouvelle édition' of 1974.

By 1965 the modified title *Alexandre le Grand* had already made its appearance in a Finnish edition: *Aleksanteri Suuri*, Helsinki (Kirjayhtymä). It is strange to find that as early as 1960, in the London edition of *Alexander the God*, reference is made (p. 4) to the first French edition as simply '*Alexandre le Grand*'.

The 2008 jubilee offers a welcome opportunity to reconsider some aspects of a work that can be regarded as a masterpiece of its kind: not only does it excel as a literary product; in some respects it could also pass for an outstanding if uncommon example of historical synthesis, for although Maurice Druon was not a professional historian nor his novel a scholarly work of reference<sup>2</sup>, his learning and empathy are all the more tremendous. And if, on the other hand, some of his basic views may sound strange, clearly influenced as they were by esoteric currents typical of nineteenth and twentieth-century egyptomania, they still give ample food for reflection<sup>3</sup>.

Needless to remind how influential well written and seriously documented historical novels or essays can be, the more so when the author proves able to catch the spirit of a past age, to fathom the mentality of a lost civilization, to understand the motives and reactions of long disappeared individuals. Unhindered by the manifold hesitations and subtleties characteristic of academic scholarship, he is the only one who seems allowed to go straight to the essentials, intuitively disentangling inextricable and vehemently debated issues. Moreover, reaching a much wider

<sup>2</sup> Like most Alexander novelists Druon relies primarily on Plutarch and Curtius (p. 473 n. 1), authors belonging to the so-called vulgate tradition, which, to a certain extent, has been rehabilitated by recent historiography.

<sup>3</sup> A short comment on and appreciation of the book is to be found in F. SUARD, *Alexandre le Grand (La Vie, la Légende)*, Paris 2001, p. 250-252 ('Druon et le dialogue avec le destin'). There is no mention of Druon in Claude MOSSÉ, *Alexandre. La destinée d'un mythe*, Paris 2001, p. 249-257 (who discusses only the novels of Klaus Mann and Valerio Manfredi). I have not seen D.M. KRATZ, *Alexander the Great in Literature and Legend: A Handbook*, London 1994.

audience than the professional historian, the novelist or essayist is instrumental in determining and shaping the reception of history by the contemporary intelligentsia<sup>4</sup>.

Thanks to a prolific and appealing genius like Robert Graves a great many of us not only got a circumstantial idea of the Julio-Claudians' rôle in early imperial Rome; they also remained interested in Antiquity for the rest of their lives. And how many of those of past generations did not look at ancient Rome through the eyes of Henryk Sienkiewicz, especially since Mervyn LeRoy's overwhelmingly popular film version (1951) of *Quo vadis?* (1895)? Another striking case in point is James A. Michener who, more than anybody else, helped us grasp the spirit of a Poland moulded during the thousand years of its tormented history (*Poland*, 1983). And is his unsurpassed novel *The Source* (1965) not a first-hand witness, so to speak, of the emergence of 'Jewish' monotheism?

Therefore, let it be said that even to academic historians people like Druon have something to tell, not only in the perspective of reception studies, but also about history itself, especially when highlighting aspects neglected by scholars or when playing with unusual interpretations. To the different 'Alexanders' of Droysen, Tarn, Schachermeyr, Bosworth, Briant and so many others, should be added those of novelists like Druon, Tondriaux or Peyrefitte, each approach contributing in its own particular way to the multicoloured, complex, never completed picture of the famous, yet elusive, Macedonian king.

Born in Paris<sup>5</sup> on April 23, 1918 as Maurice Kessel, Druon took his second name from his stepfather René Druon, who had married his mother after the untimely death — by suicide — of Lazare Kessel. Being of partly Jewish, Russian, and Brazilian descent, Druon counted among his family several men of letters, physicians, musicians, actors, politicians and scientists, some of whom combined different occupations.

<sup>4</sup> Compare what the Belgian canonist and publicist Rik TORFS (*Het hellend vlak*, Leuven 2008, p. 162) recently wrote about the relative advantage of literature over science: «Literatuur kan wetenschap natuurlijk niet vervangen. Maar zij geeft haar wel impulsen. De kracht van de synthese. De moed in de analyse». But see in particular the judicious reflections of Elizabeth VISSER, *Couperus, Grieken en Barbaren*, Amsterdam 1969, p. 81-88 ('Historische roman en geschiedschrijving'): «Ik ben er namelijk van overtuigd dat de vakgeleerden in vele gevallen wel iets van de romanciers kunnen leren».

<sup>5</sup> The data concerning Maurice Druon's life and work (as well as Roger Peyrefitte's further on) have been drawn from various easily accessible internet (mainly *Wikipedia*) and other encyclopedic sources.

A succulent detail is that his great-grandfather Antoine-Hippolyte Cros (1833-1903) was at the end of his life the third (titular) king — under the name of Antoine II (1902-1903) — of Araucania and Patagonia, an ephemeral (1860-1862), long since fictitious kingdom situated in the present territories of Chile and Argentina, but still fostered in certain circles<sup>6</sup>. This varied and rather strange familial background, profoundly imbued with a spirit of learning and curiosity, accounts for Druon's international perspective, his vast intellectual interests, his deeply rooted sense of tradition, history and (real or imaginary) *grandeur*, and at the same time his recurrent, though duly controlled, inclination towards the extraordinary.

After brilliant secondary studies, which made him intimately acquainted with classical literature, he devoted himself to jurisprudence as well as political and military studies, first at the *Sorbonne* and the *École des Sciences Politiques* (1937-1939), then at the *École de Cavalerie de Saumur* (1940). A partisan of General Charles de Gaulle, he was active in the resistance during the Second World War, having himself enrolled in the *Forces Françaises Libres* in Britain. Until the 1980s he continued to be politically and diplomatically engaged, as Minister of Cultural Affairs in 1973-1974 and as a Member of Parliament (*député de Paris*) from 1978 till 1981. This helps to explain why, for all his internationalism, he always remained an exceptionally fervent patriot, with a never waning interest in the history of his own country.

His bright literary career already started in the early 1940s, earning him a series of awards, among them the prestigious Prix Goncourt (1948). It was granted for his book *Les Grandes Familles*, still considered one of the most remarkable novels of contemporary French literature.

On December 8, 1966 he was elected among the 'immortals' of the *Académie Française*, France's most renowned cultural institution, where he succeeded Georges Duhamel, and in 2008 still occupied the 30th seat (once that of Jean-Jacques Régis de Cambacérès [1803-1816] and René Bazin [1903-1932]). From 1985 to the end of 1999 he served as the Academy's *Secrétaire perpétuel* and since 2007 he was the 'doyen d'élection', as he had the longest service record.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. the amusing description by Roger PEYREFITTE, *Des Français. Roman*, Paris 1970, p. 275-282, *passim*, of a grandiose ceremony held in the collegiate church of Champeaux-en-Brie near Paris by a rather fanciful order of knights and attended by a number of — if not outrightly fake, at least disarmingly naive — nobles, among whom, prominently present, the pretender to the throne of Patagonia.

Still famous in his old age, he sometimes happened to be criticized for his outspokenly conservative ideas (e.g. on matters of language)<sup>7</sup>, expressed in a not always very diplomatic way, provoking from his opponents equally sharp reactions<sup>8</sup>.

Still, in many respects Druon had an open and unabatedly curious mind. «C'est probablement parce que vous êtes le fils de tant de pays que votre esprit est si divers», said the *académicien* Louis Pasteur Vallery-Radot (grandson of the famous physician) in his well-stuffed *Discours de réception* (December 7, 1967)<sup>9</sup>. An 'esprit divers' is surely required when dealing with a complex and many-sided character like Alexander, living in an intricate, disturbing, even revolutionary yet promising and hopeful age. In some way Druon's *Alexandre* is typical of the late 1950s.

Indeed, many elderly Europeans, especially Belgians, still feel the magic year 1958 — in their minds indissolubly linked to the great universal exhibition in Brussels — as a major turning point in recent history. It symbolizes a dramatic change in mentality and in the way people perceived and looked at the world. It was, so it seems, the beginning of a decade of unlimited expectations, of optimism and openness, of oecumenism and hope for universal brotherhood. Never again would current Western society be imbued with so much positive energy.

For six months, from April to October 1958, the Brussels exhibition, the first of its kind after the Second World War and undoubtedly the most striking synthesis of its age<sup>10</sup>, became the world's focal point, opening the minds of millions of visitors from all possible political, ethnical, ideological and religious backgrounds<sup>11</sup>. The United States

<sup>7</sup> This allegedly elitist attitude may be reflected in a passage sympathetically describing ancient Egyptian protectionism with regard to science and knowledge: «cette difficulté d'accès aux hautes sciences n'a d'autre but que d'opérer la sélection des esprits dignes de posséder la connaissance» (p. 300-301).

<sup>8</sup> Cf. F. BAYROU, *Réponse à Maurice Druon*, in: *Le Figaro*, July 28, 2004: [http://www.bayrou.fr/media/coup\\_gueule/bayrou-lefigaro-280704.html](http://www.bayrou.fr/media/coup_gueule/bayrou-lefigaro-280704.html)

<sup>9</sup> [http://www.academie-francaise.fr/Immortels/discours\\_reponses/vallery\\_radot.html](http://www.academie-francaise.fr/Immortels/discours_reponses/vallery_radot.html)

<sup>10</sup> The 1958 exhibition of Brussels obviously had the same mental impact and symbolic value as the *Exposition Universelle* of Paris held in 1889, hundred years after the storming of the *Bastille*. The Paris exhibition fell at the start or at the very height (depending on one's chronological perception) of what was afterwards coined and idealized as the 'Belle Époque' (1870/1890-1914).

<sup>11</sup> On the occasion of the 2008 Expo jubilee several excellent works have been published in Belgium, written from different points of view but all appropriately putting the 1958 event in its broader historical, cultural and social context, e.g.: France DEBRAY,

and the Soviet Union had their respective pavilions — fundamentally opposed in outlook, spirit and content — brotherly next to one another, that of the Holy See watching diagonally from the other side. Nobody could escape the feeling that the postwar period was approaching its end, now that the cold war was apparently allowed a welcome pause. Mankind seemed on the eve of a new era of global civilization. There was a tremendous amount of goodwill, supported by an unshakable faith in religious, philosophical, social, economical, technological and scientific progress. It was the year that John XXIII was elected to the papacy. While the Soviet Union had officially been destalinized (in 1956, Khrushchev becoming prime minister in March 1958), the spirit of the Kennedies was already blowing over the New World. In France, the downfall of the Fourth Republic brought General de Gaulle back to power (prime minister June 1958; inauguration as president January 1959). Druon's political model gave his people a renewed sense of dignity and self-confidence, before putting an end to the Algerian conflict (1962), one of the last colonial wars.

While showing a mental receptivity never seen before, people were still firmly rooted in religious and social traditions. Few persons at the time realized that 1958, rather than being the start of a new, golden age, in fact heralded the irrevocable end of an ancient, soon outdated but after all cherished world, that eventually got stuck in what some might perceive as the general breakdown of the late sixties.

Let us retain for our purpose that the mental background often ascribed, rightly or not, to the early Hellenistic period seemed in more than one respect reflected by the age in which Druon conceived his *Alexandre*, an age nowadays more and more looked at through the nostalgic eyes of those who were young at the time.

Though rightly called a 'chef-d'œuvre' by Valléry-Radot, who is even inclined to attribute scholarly values to it («vous voilà maintenant un des plus célèbres biographes d'Alexandre»), Druon's novel seems to have been somewhat underestimated at the time, for which I see two reasons.

One has to do with Druon's own bio-bibliography, in which two important projects attracting most of the public's attention seem to overshadow

*Expo 58. Le gand tournant*, Bruxelles 2007; Annick LESAGE, *Expo '58. Het wonderlijke feest van de fifties*, Antwerpen 2008; E. MARTENS e.a., *Expo 58* [Booklet and DVD produced by the Royal Belgian Film Archive, s.l., s.d.]; R. NEVI, *Expo 58. Nostalgie in 400 foto's*, Leuven 2008; G. PLUVINAGE e.a., *Expo 58. Between utopia and reality*, Brussels 2008.

the rest of his literary achievements, including the *Alexandre*. The first major and successful enterprise was the already mentioned novel *Les Grandes Familles* (1948), whose outstanding qualities were immediately recognized before being expanded by two other works (*La Chute des Corps*, 1950; *Rendez-vous aux Enfers*, 1951) into a trilogy (under the embracing yet scarcely used title *La Fin des Hommes*). However, the work which would earn him the widest celebrity well outside France was *Les Rois Maudits* (7 volumes, 1955-1977). 'The Accursed Kings' only became truly famous thanks to the popular TV serial of 1972 (based on vol. I-VI [1955-1960]), as well as to a second television adaptation in 2005.

Focusing on the personal vicissitudes, relations and intrigues of the main characters, *Les Rois Maudits* describes the ineluctable decay of France's royal dynasty after the curse allegedly pronounced against Philippe IV le Bel on March 19, 1314 by Jacques de Molay, Grand Master of the Knights Templar, while burning at the stake. It was the latter's ultimate revenge for the order's unwarranted disbandment. «Vous serez tous maudits jusqu'à la treizième génération de vos races!» — though JdM never really uttered these words<sup>12</sup> — was the central theme underlying Druon's *Rois Maudits* before becoming the leitmotiv of the television series and, consequently, the most salient and widely known sentence of the whole work.

A second reason why Druon's *Alexandre* did perhaps not receive all due attention has to do with an external factor. A few years after Druon's 'nouvelle édition', another important French novel on Alexander was published, this time by the famous writer and former diplomat Roger Peyrefitte (1907-2000). Announced as a grand event, taking place in an atmosphere of scandal, it may have detracted public attention from its less spectacular predecessor. *Alexandre le Grand* (1. *La jeunesse d'Alexandre*, 1977; 2. *Les conquêtes d'Alexandre*, 1979; 3. *Alexandre le Grand*, 1981; Paris, Albin Michel) became notorious for its openly and overstressed homosexual, even pederastic, tenor, the most conspicuous hallmark of Peyrefitte's (otherwise excellent and by all means worth

<sup>12</sup> See E. LE NABOUR, *Les Rois Maudits. L'enquête historique*, Paris 2005, and the recent articles published on the topic by the same author, Colette BEAUNE, and J.-Ph. CAMUS, in: *Les Mystères des Temps Médiévaux* 21 (Paris, déc. 2005), p. 6-16, 18-31, 32-40, where the origin (16th century) and development of this tough historical myth are discussed at length. It is also shown to what extent Druon's 'Accursed Kings' was influenced by contemporaneous conditions and prejudices.



reading) impressive œuvre from his very first, largely autobiographical, novel onwards: *Les Amitiés particulières* (first edition: Marseille, 1943)<sup>13</sup>.

Let us focus now on Druon's *Alexandre*. Apart from an informative *Introduction* and a number of clarifying *Notes et commentaires* with a chronological table at the end, the novel proper is framed by two solemn

<sup>13</sup> Homosexual (in addition to manifold heterosexual) relations were practically inherent in the Macedonian court system: see Elizabeth CARNEY, *Regicide in Macedonia*, PP 211 (1983), p. 260-272. The fact that Alexander, at least in his early years, was relatively uninterested in women (and, at the end of his life, had a sexual relationship with the eunuch Bagoas) does not necessarily mean that he was an outright homosexual: Elizabeth CARNEY, *Women in Alexander's Court*, in: J. ROISMAN (ed.), *Brill's Companion to Alexander the Great*, Leiden-Boston 2003, p. 227-252, esp. 242-243. On Alexander's somewhat enigmatic sexuality, see also now D. OGDEN, *Two Studies in the Reception and Representation of Alexander's Sexuality* ['The enigma of Hephaestion'; 'Alexander the gynnīs'], in: W. HECKEL – L. TRITLE – P. WHEATLEY (edd.), *Alexander's Empire. Formulation to Decay*, Claremont (CA) 2007, p. 75-108. On Peyrefitte's Alexander novel, see SUARD, *Alexandre*, p. 252-253 («Roger Peyrefitte, ou l'Anabase du sexe» [!]), pointing to the fact that the theme of Alexander's homosexuality became for the first time a central issue in the novel of Klaus MANN, *Alexander. Roman der Utopie*, München 1929, «un des plus beaux romans consacrés à Alexandre» (p. 247-250); see also the excellent discussion by MOSSÉ, *Alexandre*, p. 249-257. Alexander's homoerotic inclination had already been discretely underlying the last great (and best, as it seems) historical novel of the Dutch author Louis COUPERUS (whose own sexuality seems to have also been somewhat ambiguous), *Iskander, de roman van Alexander den Groote*, Rotterdam 1920, its central theme being the East-West confrontation resulting in the fatal, unavoidable corruption of the West by the East — and the fundamentally irrational king's concomitant psychological and moral decay —, corruption and decay whose instrument, in the author's view, was the said Bagoas, a mysterious and almost demoniac creature (cf. T. BOGAERTS, *De antieke wereld van Louis Couperus*, Amsterdam 1969, p. 42-48; VISSER, *Couperus*, p. 40-51 [«Iskander: Alexander en de vrouwen»]; F.L. BASTET, *Louis Couperus. Een Biografie*, Amsterdam 1987, p. 576-579). Concerning Alexander's feelings for Hephaestion, Druon's novel only prudently speaks about a «mutuel attrait» (p. 126), «la chaste tendresse qui l'unissait à Héphestion» (p. 135, my italics), «l'objet de ses adolescentes amours» (sounding a little ambiguous: p. 126), his «ami de cœur» (p. 424), «le double d'Alexandre», with whom he always kept a very close (obviously Platonic) friendship (p. 259), but by whose death he was nevertheless overtaken by a «désespoir amoureux» (p. 448; cf. 445). Bagoas, who played a pivotal rôle in Couperus' novel, is only briefly mentioned (p. 424; cf. 497, n. 53). On the historical Bagoas, see H. BERVE, *Das Alexanderreich auf prosopographischer Grundlage*, II. *Prosopographie*, München 1926, p. 98-99, no. 195; E. BADIAN, *The Eunuch Bagoas. A Study in Method*, CQ 8 (1958), p. 144-157; O. BATTISTINI, art. *Bagoas*, in: O. BATTISTINI – P. CHARVET (edd.), *Alexandre le Grand. Histoire et Dictionnaire*, Paris 2004, p. 586; W. HECKEL, *Who's Who in the Age of Alexander the Great. Prosopography of Alexander's Empire*, Oxford 2006, p. 68, s.v. *Bagoas* [2b]. As to Hephaestion, see BERVE, p. 169-175, no. 357; P. GOUKOWSKI, art. *Héphaestion*, in: BATTISTINI-CHARVET, p. 727-728; HECKEL, p. 133-137.

steles, allegedly written and set up by the seer Aristandros of Telmessus (born ca. 380 BC at the latest)<sup>14</sup>, the first for himself (Chapter I), the second in honour of the departed Alexander (Chapter XXI). Throughout the book, which is presented as the text of his memoirs, written in the first person, Aristandros, who claims to hold «le plus important office qui soit dans une nation après celui de roi» (p. 23), narrates Alexander's exploits intermingled with his own, closely related story. Without his continued discrete but efficient presence, it is said, Alexander would never have achieved military success nor would he have attained divine status.

Feeling the end of his life approaching, Aristandros introduces himself as a learned man and wise prophet, ritually and morally pure, the best of his generation. Priest and divine, successful dream interpreter and magician, member of an international network (p. 40-41, 45), he had been initiated, like Thales, Pythagoras and Plato before him, in religious knowledge, medicine, astronomy («dispensatrice de cette connaissance qui seule permet à nos actes de se régler sur le mouvement de l'univers» [p. 212]) and other sciences by the learned men of his own country and of Egypt, «terre de la vérité» (p. 219), where he became a prophet of the god Amon. Comparing himself to Asklepios (meant is Imhotep/Imuthes, living under pharaoh Djoser, 3rd Dynasty, considered a deified healer and rescuer) as well as to the divine Amenhotep (i.e. Amenophis, to be situated under Amenophis III, 18th Dynasty, also developed into a saviour god)<sup>15</sup>, he had devoted his life to the royal house of Macedon, in particular to the education and salvation of the young Alexander, whose «main et tête» (p. 22) he always remained. It was his mission to support

<sup>14</sup> On the historical Aristandros, see BERVE, *Alexanderreich* II, p. 62-63, no. 117; O. BATTISTINI, art. *Aristandros de Telmessos*, in: BATTISTINI-CHARVET, *Alexandre le Grand*, p. 551-553, and art. *Devin*, *ibid.*, p. 674; cf. A. ZUCKER, art. *Présages*, *ibid.*, p. 909-911; HECKEL, *Who's Who*, p. 45-46; M.A. FLOWER, *The Seer in Ancient Greece*, Berkeley-Los Angeles-London 2008, p. 178-181, dealing with long-lasting and often successful partnerships between generals and seers, properly stressing the important rôle played by soothsayers, esp. Aristandros, during the whole of Alexander's campaign, the king being «ever more obsessed with divination and omens of various kinds»; reference is also made to the PhD dissertation of C.J. KING, *Divination in the Alexander Historians: Dreams, Omens, and the Seer Aristander of Telmessus*, Brown University 2004.

<sup>15</sup> On these divinized holy men, respectively linked with Memphis (I) and Thebes (A) but from Ptolemaic times on sharing a cult in Thebes, see W. HELCK, art. *Amenophis*, in: *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* I (1975), col. 219-221; D. WILDUNG, art. *Imhotep*, *ibid.* III (1980), col. 145-148; ID., *Imhotep und Amenhotep. Gottwerdung im alten Ägypten* (Münchner Ägyptol. Studien 36), München-Berlin 1977, esp. p. 298-302.

and protect his master, especially against himself<sup>16</sup>, «pour que s'accomplissent par lui les desseins divins» (p. 22). It was only in his last years, after the death of Darius, that Alexander would deviate from his original mission, trying to gradually emancipate himself from his mentor's influence. *Desseins divins*: it is indeed a central thought of the narrative — and this is typical of Druon — that Alexander was the executor, under Aristandros' careful supervision, of some divine plan, «une mission mystique» (p. 211), in which the god Amon — thought to have patronized the last two millennia before Christ — was of paramount importance<sup>17</sup>.

In Druon's *Alexandre* the Libyan Ammon of Siwah (possibly stemming from Phoenicia via Carthago, already in Homeric times assimilated by the Greeks to their supreme god and called Zeus-Ammon) and the Upper-Egyptian ram-god Amun/Amon from the Theban region (later Amun/Amon-Re [solar god]) are — albeit with some qualifications: p. 40 — considered one and the same deity (henceforth, following Druon and for the sake of convenience, always written with 'o' and one 'm'). Rightly so, for although they had a different — yet uncertain and controversial — origin, they were at any rate confused long before Alexander's day<sup>18</sup>. Druon (p. 317) equates them also with the Babylonian Bel-Marduk (whose planet, for that matter, was Jupiter)<sup>19</sup>. As supreme gods in their respective systems these divinities are implicitly seen as the representatives and manifestations of the universal Deity.

<sup>16</sup> As he did at the Tanais/Iaxertes (Syr Daria: cf. O. BATTISTINI, in: BATTISTINI-CHARVET, *Alexandre le Grand*, p. 743 and 985) (p. 361-370): Arrian IV 4. 3, 9; see W. HECKEL, *Alexander the Great and the 'Limits of the Civilised World'*, in: W. H. — L.A. TRITLE (edd.), *Crossroads of History. The Age of Alexander*, Claremont (CA) 2003, p. 147-174, esp. 152; FLOWER, *The Seer*, p. 172.

<sup>17</sup> For the significance of the god in Egyptian royal titlature, esp. in the case of foreign kings and usurpers, see P. FUNKE, *Philippos III. Arrhidaïos und Alexandros IV. 'von Amun auserwählt'*, in: V.A. TRONCOSO (ed.), *ΔΙΑΔΟΧΟΣ ΤΗΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙΑΣ. La figura del sucesor en la realeza helenística (Gerión-Anejos)*, Madrid 2005, p. 45-56.

<sup>18</sup> See, e.g., E. OTTO, art. *Amun*, in: *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* I (1975), col. 237-248 (esp. 241); R. GRIESHAMMER, art. *Ammonion* and *Amun*, in: *Der Neue Pauly* I (1996), col. 599 and 631, with bibliography; J. OSING, art. *Siwa*, in: *Lex. Ägypt.* V (1984), col. 965-968; O. BATTISTINI, art. *Ammon*, in: BATTISTINI-CHARVET, *Alexandre le Grand*, p. 530-531 (stressing Alexander's universal aspirations); cf. G. BOUNOURE — Blandine SERRET, *Pseudo-Callisthène. Le Roman d'Alexandre. La vie et les hauts faits d'Alexandre de Macédoine*, Paris 1992, p. 230-231.

<sup>19</sup> On Marduk, see, e.g., E. EBELING, art. *Marduk*, in: *RE* XIV (1930), col. 1658-1672; S. MAUL, art. *Marduk*, in: *Der Kleine Pauly* VII (1999), col. 877-878; O. BATTISTINI, art. *Baal*, in: BATTISTINI-CHARVET, *Alexandre le Grand*, p. 580.

To a certain extent such a view is paralleled by the basic idea of Alexander's first modern biographer Johann Gustav Droysen (1833), who saw in the Macedonian the herald of the Hegelian *Weltgeist*, the executor of the *Weltgesetz*, an immanent cosmic order coming down to a more abstract and pantheistic concept of the Divinity<sup>20</sup>. It is a kind of global interpretation wanted by and acceptable to those who try to find a specific, teleological sense in history.

Druon's Aristandros outlived — had to outlive for the purpose of the novel — all the members of the Argead dynasty until their complete disappearance from history — not only Alexander (the god «qui dut se résoudre à mourir comme un homme», p. 457), but also Philip Arrhidaios, Olympias, Heracles, the young Alexander IV, and the tragic princess Cleopatra — ending up in Ptolemaic Alexandria<sup>21</sup> as [the first] high priest of his deified Master Alexander the God<sup>22</sup>, witnessing the horrors of the early Diadochian wars, about which he appropriately observes that «nul héritage jamais dans l'univers ne rendit plus féroces les ambitions humaines» (p. 466).

Concerning the historical Aristandros of Telmessus, uncontestably «the greatest seer of his day»<sup>23</sup>, with a broad range of competences<sup>24</sup>, whose magic powers seem to have failed only a few times<sup>25</sup>, and who was also active as *littérateur*<sup>26</sup>, a number of facts are known indeed<sup>27</sup>,

<sup>20</sup> Cf. H. BENGTSON, *Einführung in die Alte Geschichte*, München 1979<sup>8</sup>, p. 14: «In der von Alexanders Person ausgehenden Weltbewegung sah Droysen die Verkörperung des schöpferischen Ingeniums im Sinne Hegels, den Vollender und Vollstrecker des Weltgesetzes». See also H.-U. WIEMER, *Alexander der Große*, München 2005, p. 201-202: «[Droysen betrachtete] die großen Männer als 'historische Personen', als 'Geschäftsführer des Weltgeistes'. Diese Männer tun was geschichtlich notwendig ist».

<sup>21</sup> No wonder that Druon, in view of Egypt's central position in his spiritual construct, also gives credit to the legend of Philip's biological fatherhood of Ptolemy (p. 74-75, 179).

<sup>22</sup> According to the novel, it was Aristandros who was put in charge of Alexander's hearse and funeral procession, which were diverted to Egypt by Ptolemy with the former's connivance (p. 465). Though manifestly wrong — the officer in charge was a certain Arrhidaios (BERVE, *Alexanderreich* II, p. 80, no. 145; HECKEL, *Who's Who*, p. 53) — it conveys to Druon's plot a supplementary source of attractiveness.

<sup>23</sup> FLOWER, *The Seer*, p. 93.

<sup>24</sup> FLOWER, *The Seer*, p. 35.

<sup>25</sup> Plut. *Alex.* 50. 3 (vain sacrifice for the safety of Kleitos): FLOWER, *The Seer*, p. 80; Curt. V 4. 1 (inability to make any judicious or useful prediction): BERVE, *Alexanderreich* II, p. 62.

<sup>26</sup> BERVE, *Alexanderreich* II, p. 63; BATTISTINI, art. *Aristandros*, p. 552; FLOWER, *The Seer*, p. 52.

<sup>27</sup> Cf. *supra*, n. 14.

but according to Berve and others he must already have died of old age around 327<sup>28</sup>: although hard evidence for such a conclusion is lacking, his death likely occurred shortly after the murder of Kleitos the Black<sup>29</sup> (Maracanda, autumn 328)<sup>30</sup>. Aristandros appears to have been replaced by Demophon, attested since 326/325<sup>31</sup>. Preferring narrative requirements (as consistency, comprehensiveness and dramatic tension) to scholarly precision, Druon, so it seems, has slightly forced historical truth.

In the camp of the Persians, astrologers played a comparable if not more prominent rôle (as they nowadays still do in governmental circles of backward states like Myanmar). It has recently been established, for that matter, that Kidinnu (Kidenas), the most famous among Babylonian astronomers, was probably executed by the sword on the order of Bessus-Artaxerxes (August 14, 330 BC, one month after the tragic death of Darius III [rather than September 22, 331, nine days before the battle of Gaugamela, in that case probably in retaliation for giving an unfavourable prediction])<sup>32</sup>.

Pervasiveness of religion under all its aspects and manifestations (including magic, prophecies, revelations, prodigies, omens, dreams, oracles), supported by an increasing international retinue of priests (p. 324, 407, 428), is the most fundamental characteristic of the book. It reveals itself not only in the narration of Alexander's life proper but also by the broader context in which it is set by Druon, especially in the introduction and commentary. In the same way as Aristandros is seen as the last link in a chain of prophets, integrating in his person (by education,

<sup>28</sup> BERVE, *Alexanderreich* II, p. 62; cf. E. BADIAN, art. *Kleitos I*, in: *Der Neue Pauly* I (1996), col. 1089; HECKEL, *Who's Who*, p. 46; FLOWER, *The Seer*, p. 181. The only dissident voice seems to be KING (p. 52-54 and 231; *non vidi*: cf. *supra*, n. 14), suggesting a rupture between king and seer after their disagreement at the Tanais/Iaxartes (cf. *supra*, n. 16): see FLOWER, p. 181 n. 72.

<sup>29</sup> BERVE, *Alexanderreich* II, p. 206-208, no. 427; HECKEL, *Who's Who*, p. 86-87; Sandrine RINALDI, art. *Cleitos le Noir (Mélus)*, in: BATTISTINI-CHARVET, *Alexandre le Grand*, p. 643-645.

<sup>30</sup> On the murder of Kleitos, see recently L.A. TRITLE, *Alexander and the Killing of Cleitus the Black*, in: HECKEL-TRITLE, *Crossroads of History*, p. 127-146 (rightly stressing the traumatic if not destructive impact of continuous warfare, here combined with alcohol abuse); V. ALONSO, *Alexander, Cleitus and Lanice. Upbringing and Maintenance*, in: HECKEL-TRITLE-WHEATLEY, *Alexander's Empire*, p. 109-123.

<sup>31</sup> BERVE, *Alexanderreich* II, p. 141, no. 264; O. BATTISTINI, art. *Démophon*, in: BATTISTINI-CHARVET, *Alexandre le Grand*, p. 668; HECKEL, *Who's Who*, p. 109-110.

<sup>32</sup> R.J. VAN DER SPEK, *Darius III, Alexander the Great and Babylonian Scholarship*, in: W. HENKELMAN – Amélie KUERT (edd.), *A Persian Perspective. Essays in Memory of Heleen Sancisi-Weerdenburg (Achaemenid History 13)*, Leiden 2003, p. 291-346, esp. 301-310 (Text 3, obverse l. 8).

knowledge and insight) past, present, and future, the author detects in world history a kind of a unifying threefold and intertwined lineage of persons, civilizations, and ages, obviously steered by a higher power.

In Druon's opinion, Alexander is one of the 'great bastards' of history and legend, an 'illustrious illegitimate' of the same stature as Theseus and Romulus (already put in parallel by Plutarch), as well as Moses (whose origin he also interprets as illicit) and Jesus, the last of the sequence. After Jesus, for whose and whose mother's background Druon is in part relying on legendary traditions vehiculated by apocrypha like the *Protevangelium* of James, and adopted by popular belief and devotion, God is said to have definitively retired in heaven, having given up «cette participation multiforme à la vie des humains qu'on lui attribuait au cours des époques préchrétiennes» (p. 12). Each of the figures mentioned was going to make a tremendous imprint on the collective memory of a huge number of peoples. As their births were surrounded by mystery, they were generally (more or less explicitly) considered as divine, thought to be fathered by the Deity — respectively manifesting itself as Poseidon, Mars, Zeus-Amon-Re, or Adonai — each time under the appearance of a mortal male, often a priest, their mother fulfilling some kind of temple service. All were endowed with a divine mission to the effect that they wanted to install a new order, be it a state, an empire or a religion. Their fascinating lives were characterized to different degrees (depending on the individual) by a number of easily recognizable distinguishing features, some of which had to do with an obsessive urge to sublimate their illegitimate origin (cf. p. 496): «affirmation d'un lien filial avec le surnaturel, aptitudes prophétiques, vocation messianique, résistance physique exceptionnelle, agilité d'esprit, révolte contre le milieu natal, mésentente avec les proches, instabilité, colères homicides, fugues, volonté de conquête et de domination exercée à la fois sur le sol et sur les femmes, création de cités, d'empires ou de doctrines, tendance à exercer des tyrannies politiques ou spirituelles rapidement intolérables, fin tragique, souvent prématurée, ou bien solitaire et désolée» (p. 8).

Each of the divine illegitimates, whose appearance on earth was a matter of ineluctable necessity, stood at the cradle of one of the five great Mediterranean civilizations that ultimately engendered ours: the Hebraic, the Athenian, the Roman, the Alexandrian, and, finally, the Christian (p. 12).

In contrast with his forerunners — Theseus, Romulus, and Moses — Alexander was a fully historical figure, though surrounded from the

beginning with a nimbus of legend and mystification. It is even probable that Alexander himself, after (and perhaps already before) having consulted the Siwah oracle, was convinced that he was the biological son of Zeus-Amon<sup>33</sup>, just as Olympias may have contributed to the dissemination of Alexander's birth legend<sup>34</sup>. Whatever the case, recent research has abundantly confirmed how deep the impact of religion was on the person of Alexander's mother, even if caution in specific cases is needed<sup>35</sup>.

No wonder that Druon extensively embroiders upon the story of Alexander's divine conception by Olympias as told by Plutarch (*Alex.* 2-3), which became a major theme in the Alexander myth. In a masterful and suggestive description (p. 43-53)<sup>36</sup> the decisive deed is said to have been accomplished on the occasion of a series of cultic ceremonies during the celebration of the holy mysteries of the Cabeiri or Great Gods in the temple of Samothrace, where the royal princess, who was already initiated at Dodona and is presented as priestess of Zeus-Amon (p. 45) and the Cabeiri (p. 177), served as a sacred prostitute<sup>37</sup>. The actual fecundation was effectuated through the intervention of a human priest, the god Zeus-Amon being symbolized by a divine snake<sup>38</sup>, before she had intercourse with Philip, who subsequently married her<sup>39</sup>. Druon sees a strong analogy between Alexander's conception and the Egyptians'

<sup>33</sup> See FLOWER, *The Seer*, p. 178.

<sup>34</sup> H. VAN THIEL, *Leben und Taten Alexanders von Makedonien. Der griechische Alexanderroman nach der Handschrift L*, Darmstadt 1974, p. 171.

<sup>35</sup> Elizabeth CARNEY, *Olympias, Mother of Alexander the Great*, New York-London 2006, esp. p. 88-103 («Olympias and Religion»), a very circumstantial and nuanced approach.

<sup>36</sup> Only to be exceeded by the impressive (and historically convincing) passages on sacred prostitution in *The Source* of Michener (cf. *supra*).

<sup>37</sup> There is some likeness with the legends about the Virgin Mary, who, according to apocryphal tradition, would have acted during her childhood, along with the 'daughters of the Hebrews', as a servant in the Temple of Jerusalem, implying her belonging, as is also suggested by Luke (1), to the higher strata of society.

<sup>38</sup> In the Alexander Romance, the rôles are reversed: there it is the prophet, magician, and former Egyptian king Nectanebo who, appearing in the disguise of Amon, is the true biological father, not Amon taking (or taking possession of) the body of a mortal: see BOUNOURE-SERRET, *Pseudo-Callisthène*, Livre I 1-13 (p. 1-12), *passim*; cf. p. xxii-xxiii and 228-232. On the theme of the snake and its meaning (which is in fact much more complex than Druon wants to make us believe), see VAN THIEL, *Leben und Taten Alexanders von Makedonien*, p. 171; BOUNOURE-SERRET, p. 230 n. 22; MOSSÉ, *Alexandre*, p. 95-96.

<sup>39</sup> It is clear that Druon has somewhat embellished the story as told by Plutarch (according to whom Olympias was only *initiated* at Samothrace, as was Philip, without assuming a priestly function, whereas the snake did obviously only appear *after* her wedding, etc.), just like Plutarch embellished reality: see CARNEY, *Olympias*, p. 12-14.



view of the conception of the heir to the pharaonic throne, Amon being generally incarnated by the reigning pharaoh (p. 54-55).

It is against this background that the difficult relationship between the rude and amorous Philip and the refined but (since her divine intercourse) sexually reserved, jealous and disdainful Olympias<sup>40</sup>, as well as the growing estrangement between Philip and his legal son (who finally admitted that «chaque homme puisse avoir deux pères, l'un sur terre et l'autre dans les cieux» [p. 87])<sup>41</sup>, are developed throughout the first and second parts of the book (20 and 18 chapters respectively). They are mainly based on Plutarch's *vita* and describe Alexander's youth and early kingship in Macedon. The third and fourth parts (19 and 21 chapters) are devoted to the story of the Asian expedition until the fatal days in Babylon, followed by Aristandros' alleged last years in Alexandria.

Partly connected and in parallel with this lineage of divine bastards who are believed to have determined the course of history, is the succession of astrological ages, based on the so-called great or Platonic year of approximately 25,800 years (caused by the shift of the equinoxes along the ecliptica due to the precession of the earth's axis), which is divided into 12 periods of ca. 2,150 years, each controlled by a zodiacal sign<sup>42</sup>. The era of Aries (the last of the great cosmic year) is associated with Amon and consequently with Alexander, who lived in the last part of it (i.e. in one of the great 'end times'), coming to restore the ram-god for a last time before the latter would disappear behind the Pisces; the era of Pisces (the first of a new great year) with Christ (cf. p. 474 n. 3). The next will be that of Aquarius, which is deemed by contemporaneous adepts of esoterism to get its own characteristics, typical of what is thought to be a post-Christian era. In this way Alexander becomes not only a providential but also a cosmic being who has to fulfill his divine mission on earth. The question is, however, whether and to what extent ancient astrologers were acquainted with these concepts: at any rate, Druon flagrantly surestimates (p. 480-481) the zodiac's antiquity as well

<sup>40</sup> Actually, we do not know anything about the personal feelings of either Philip or Olympias: they were irrelevant to a marriage that was profoundly different from modern ones: see Elizabeth CARNEY, *The Politics of Polygamy: Olympias, Alexander and the Murder of Philip*, *Historia* 41 (1992), p. 169-189, esp. 170-171.

<sup>41</sup> It is surely not unintentionally that Philip is called Alexander's «père nourricier» (p. 197): the parallelism evoked is too obvious.

<sup>42</sup> See, e.g., W. KUBITSCHKE, *Grundriss der antiken Zeitrechnung* (*Handb. der Altertumswiss.* I. 7), München 1928, p. 29 with n. 2.



as its consistency<sup>43</sup>. The bibliography inserted in the English edition only (p. 294) reveals that, in this respect, he had himself inspired by several rather controversial, but in their respective times (and even today) very influential authors on esotericism, astrology, and alternative 'Egyptology': André Barbault (*Collection Zodiaque. I. Le Bélier*, 1957, reissued 1991, 2005), Édouard Schuré (*Les Grands Initiés. Esquisse de l'histoire secrète des religions*, 1889; 100 issues!), and René-Adolphe Schwaller de Lubicz (*Le Temple dans l'Homme*, synthesis based on *Le Temple de l'Homme*, 1957)<sup>44</sup>.

It is striking that only a few years after Druon's first edition of *Alexandre*, a similar, yet in many respects fundamentally different historical novel was published by the French-speaking Belgian scholar J(ulien)-L. Tondriau (famous for his studies on the royal cult and other religious phenomena): *Journal d'Alexandre*, Bruxelles (Presses Académiques Européennes), coll. «Illustres Vitæ» n° 2, 1964, 312 p. Similar, because it also presents itself as a journal, in this case written by the king himself and formally more resemblant of a real diary than Druon's book; different because of the utterly dissimilar atmosphere it breathes. Excellently written (despite the profusion of exclamation marks), Tondriau's novel is a typically academic product with all its advantages and shortcomings. Absolutely reliable, informative and complete (with numerous minor historical digressions and even a whole chapter on the development of the royal cult [p. 250-266]), almost to the point of boredom, it lacks a bit of naturalness and spontaneity. The style is too sophisticated, the vocabulary too differentiated, the matter too detailed, the presentation too objective, the mentality too intellectual, the ideas too high, the insight too deep, encyclopaedic

<sup>43</sup> W. HÜBNER – H. HUNGER, art. *Tierkreis*, in: *Der Neue Pauly* XII 1 (2002), col. 553-563: the zodiac has its roots in Babylon, going back to the late 2nd millennium BC and dating in its present configuration (with a different name for some signs) only from ca. 500 BC, not always presenting the same starting point in the course of time. Cf. Katelijn VANDORPE, *Ook de zodiak heeft een verleden. Van klei- en papyrus- tot krantenhoroscopen*, in: K.V. – H. VERRETH, *Romeinen bewegen hemel en aarde. Voorspellen in de Oudheid (Aulos)*, Leuven 1996, p. 70-85, pointing to the fact that the zodiac only reached Egypt in the 3rd century BC, i.e. after Alexander (p. 74-75).

<sup>44</sup> An excellent and very accessible work on alternative forms of Egyptology ('Egyptosophy'), already present in classical Greece and still popular in circles of Freemasons and Rosecrucians, is E. HORNUNG, *De verborgen kennis van het Oude Egypte*, Den Haag 2007 (translation of: *Das esoterische Ägypten – Das geheime Wissen der Ägypter und sein Einfluß auf das Abendland*, München 1999). On Schuré and Schwaller, see chapter 19, «Egypte à la mode: moderne égyptosofie en afrocentriek» (p. 209-228, esp. 210-213, 219), with bibliography p. 263-265. Egyptosophy ancient and modern (which nowadays tends to become a kind of surrogate religion) may be an inspiring phenomenon and interesting research topic, but must not be intermixed with scientific Egyptology: p. 7-10.

knowledge too vast, to be credible and consistent with the young king's supposed background. Despite his undeniable religious inclinations (p. 63-64, 214, 254), Alexander is presented as a rational (e.g. p. 35-36, 291: against mysticism, magic, superstition and occultism) and well-balanced (Western, one would think) philosopher, an idealistic, almost Tarnian, yet cool unifier of mankind (cf. p. 30, 174-175, 240-241, 274, 280), conscious of his «mission d'Hellénisation» of the Oecumene (p. 116, 207, 209, 212-213, 304-305), a strong-willed and purposeful strategist, rather than as an unscrupulous, passionate, impulsive and often unreasonable conqueror. One even has the impression that Tondriau wrote his diary in reaction to Druon's, which he doubtless deemed too phantastic. For in his 'Bibliographie succinte' Tondriau found it necessary to expressly distance himself from his recent predecessor, «qui ... ignore les publications non françaises [which is not true, as is shown by the bibliography in Druon's English edition (cf. *supra*): perhaps too limited, it nevertheless mentions two German scholarly works in French translation and two English in the original version]. Et, s'il écrit admirablement, nous paraît concéder trop à l'«occultisme» et à la thèse de l'Alexandre bâtard, rendu bien exécration dès la deuxième moitié du livre» (p. 309). It is very typical, for example, how this enlightened Alexander tries to excuse himself and explain why he wanted to visit the Siwah oracle and how, against his will as it were, he became a god (p. 109-125); why, again without the slightest enthusiasm, he had felt obliged to set fire on the Persepolis palace (p. 148: «j'ai bu, pour ne pas voir cette destruction attendue qu'au fond je désapprouve» [!]; 231-232); or to what extent he attempts to debunk his Dionysian features (p. 191, 258-261). Only toward the end of his life did Tondriau's Alexander begin to surmise that he might be a real manifestation of a divine power (p. 282-283). No wonder, then, that in Tondriau's fictional diary, even poor Aristandros (whom Tondriau does not like because, in the end, Tondriau does not like Druon) is, more than once, presented in a slightly condescending, even denigrating and somewhat facetious way (p. 34, 85, 113, 141, 167, 303), being good enough, however, to appease the superstitious army in critical circumstances (p. 130).

Nowadays, scholars like Briant and Bosworth<sup>45</sup> have made us aware of the fact that Alexander, far from being a kind of superhuman liberator,

<sup>45</sup> See especially P. BRIANT, *Alexandre le Grand (Que sais-je?)*, Paris 1974, 1987 (3<sup>e</sup> édition), esp. p. 58-60 («terreur et génocide»); A.B. BOSWORTH, *Alexander and the East. The Tragedy of Triumph*, Oxford 1996; ID., *A Tale of Two Empires: Hernán Cortés and Alexander the Great*, in: A.B.B. – Elizabeth J. BAYNHAM (edd.), *Alexander the Great in Fact and Fiction*, Oxford 2000, p. 23-49 («The conquerors created a desert and called it empire», p. 49). Cf. H. HAUBEN, *Le monde hellénistique, l'ancienne Pologne et nous: analogies et divergences*, in: *Greco, Juifs, Polonais: à la recherche des racines de la civilisation européenne*. Actes du colloque international tenu à Paris le 14 novembre

a messenger of a golden age of universal brotherhood or an idealistic fosterer of Hellenistic oecumenism, proved in fact a shrewd slaughterer responsible for the killing of thousands of innocent people. But Druon too realized that at some point things had gotten seriously out of hand, particularly after the conquest of Babylon (p. 325, 329-330, 349, 417-420 [sacrificing his own army]), when the conqueror had forsaken his original purpose and, according to Druon, was more and more distancing himself from his tutor and his divine mission<sup>46</sup>. «Jamais révolte dans l'histoire ne fut plus cruellement châtiée que celle de la Sogdiane et de la Bactriane» (p. 370), Aristandros concludes, and Druon with him. Whole regions were depopulated, yet Alexander remained «un homme dans lequel (étaient) incarnées les forces célestes» (p. 360). Anyway, the above statements do not alter the fact that «pendant les années qu'Alexandre régna sur le monde, les hommes apprirent à se mieux connaître» (p. 387), and that was an undeniable progress in the evolution of human civilisation. So, it is not a cliché at all to contend that it was Alexander who opened up the world. At least in that specific respect, the final verdict must be positive.

It would make little sense to examine each and every detail in Druon's narrative in order to establish to what extent it does correspond to the actual facts. Events and backgrounds were manifold and Druon appears excellently informed. Where, e.g., do we find more penetrating (in fact merciless) psychological portraits of characters like Philip (*passim*) or Demosthenes (p. 103-112)? The problem rather lies in Druon's *interpretation* of some facts and in his *global view* on history. A series like that on the 'Accursed Kings' has shown that, for all their brilliance, Druon's somewhat idiosyncratic ideas were strongly influenced by his own age, his peculiar personal background, and his (all in all temperate) preference for the supernatural and the occult.

As a novelist he had the right to adapt the facts to his own more or less preconceived views and more than once he actually did. So, taking into account the book's general tenor, we easily understand that he integrated

2003, dédié à Joseph Mélèze-Modrzejewski. Textes réunis par Dariusz DŁUGOSZ (*Annales*, Centre Scientifique de l'Académie Polonaise des Sciences à Paris, Numéro 2 Spécial), Varsovie-Paris 2006, p. 53-94, *passim* and esp. 65-66, 76.

<sup>46</sup> There may be a lot of truth in the suspicion of FLOWER (*The Seer*, p. 181) that «Alexander relied heavily on Aristander psychologically and that his death removed a stabilizing factor in his life». Flower is speaking here of the historical Aristandros, of course.

Alexander's (probably apocryphal)<sup>47</sup> visit to Jerusalem into his narrative (p. 280-284). A special case in point is the career of Aristandros, prolonged beyond 327 in order to cover, against historical probability, the whole period from Alexander's conception until the passing of the king's last descendants and relatives. It was the figure of Aristandros, who, as Druon saw it, brought consistency and unity to the life of Alexander. Equally important is that out of an undoubtedly major, yet not uncommon Greek seer in royal Macedonian service, Druon created a kind of transcultural prophet, synthetizing in his person Greco-Macedonian, Babylonian and Egyptian traditions, in the same way as his pupil and master stood for political and cultural comprehensiveness. Performed under the prophet's spiritual guidance, Alexander's extraordinary military achievements were on their turn exalted to a superhuman, quasi religious level, becoming one of the essential stages in the fulfillment of the great and comprehensive divine plan throughout the history of mankind. Which brings us in the field of metaphysical speculation.

Druon's interpretations and conjectures having basically to do with religion, we should distinguish between the beliefs and personal feelings of Alexander, his entourage and contemporaries (as seen through the eyes of Druon) on the one hand, and Druon's own religious, often esoteric, conceptions and images on the other. It is clear that the former are highly conditioned by the latter.

We must accept that, in the final analysis, the real beliefs of the Macedonians and the way Alexander interpreted his own religious identity, are, from a certain point on, beyond recovery, the more so as we have to reckon with certain developments, including in the latter's own opinions. No wonder that modern studies remain cautious and nuanced, though we are surely entitled to affirm that the king was at least conscious of a providential mission he had to accomplish and that he became increasingly aware of his own divine identity<sup>48</sup>. At a certain moment Druon

<sup>47</sup> For a (now inevitably obsolete) status quaestionis, see J. SEIBERT, *Alexander der Große*, Darmstadt 1972 (*Erträge der Forschung* 10), p. 103-109, 271-274.

<sup>48</sup> See the well-balanced and detailed survey of E. FREDRICKSMEYER, *Alexander's Religion and Divinity*, in: ROISMAN (ed.), *Brill's Companion to Alexander the Great*, p. 253-278, in which several questions raised here are dealt with. The author rightly emphasizes that «Alexander and his men greatly depended on (the) signs from the gods and their correct interpretation» (p. 267) and that, influenced by his mother and instructed by the priests of Siwah, he firmly believed in his divine birth (p. 255, 272, 274, 277), before claiming actual divinity (p. 277-278).

pithily depicts how Alexander, torn apart by doubts about that identity, «pour prouver son pouvoir à ceux qui, en doutant, l'en faisaient douter, ... les précipita souvent dans la mort» (p. 385), thus at the same time showing the destructive side of religion. But a comparison in detail of the religious opinions ascribed by Druon to Alexander and his circle to those of their historical models would necessarily remain futile. Anyway, one of the great merits of the novel seems to be that it reminds us not only of the profound impact of magic and religion on the life of the Macedonian conqueror and on that of millions of people past and present, but in many cases also on politics and decision making. Precisely in their discussions of Aristandros' career, scholars like Berve and recently Flower<sup>49</sup> acknowledged the prominence of the supernatural in Alexander's personal life, in his circle and in the Macedonian army. Druon did likewise in a kind of polite understatement: «La compréhension de la vie d'Alexandre m'apparaît impossible sans quelque connaissance des sciences religieuses antiques et sans quelque incursion dans leur efficace magie» (p. 18). I would assert that without a sufficient knowledge and minimal sense of religion<sup>50</sup>, it is impossible to become familiar with the ancient world at all.

Another matter is Druon's global interpretation of the Alexander era and of its place in general history. As these views are expounded for the most part in the introduction and the notes, we may assume that they (more or less) reflect the author's own ideas and (wishful) assumptions, anyway making sense to him. To us they appear as a set of challenging, yet strange and highly syncretistic<sup>51</sup> convictions, New Age beliefs *avant la lettre*, based in fact on continuously recycled theories, betraying a certain leaning towards historical escapism.

In modern times, characterized by strict rationalism, such religion- (or pseudo-/para-religion-) based global explanations have inevitably become, at least in principle, the exclusive apanage of novels or other works of fiction.

<sup>49</sup> BERVE, *Alexanderreich* II, p. 62-63; FLOWER, *The Seer*, p. 180: «Alexander was deeply religious but he also knew how to exploit the propaganda value of religion».

<sup>50</sup> For this rather intuitive sense of religious values, essential at least when studying religious phenomena, see W. BREDE KRISTENSEN, *Inleiding tot de godsdienstgeschiedenis*, Bussum (NL) 1976<sup>2</sup>, p. 20-21.

<sup>51</sup> Cf. p. 217: «car la révélation paraît avoir été donnée par cent voix, mais toutes ces voix sont sorties de la même bouche».

Of course, such explanations are now increasingly found — often blended with all sorts of conspiracy theories — in pseudo-historical or pseudo-scientific works, mixing facts and fiction and presenting fiction as scientifically established reality: the gods as ufonauts, the descendants of Jesus among us, quests for the Holy Grail, the lost treasure of the Knights Templar, and so on. The same holds for all kinds of esoteric works on ancient Egypt as in the good old days. But they are no longer taken seriously by scholars, who would rather approach them in terms of science-fiction literature.

Yet, global explanations like Druon's have the advantage of conferring unity and meaningfulness to the narrative by offering the reader a relatively firm and well-constructed ideological framework. It gives him the comfortable illusion of acquiring a deeper insight into the course of events and a firmer grasp on the often contradictory and incomprehensible vicissitudes of factual history. This must be the ultimate secret of the attractiveness of brilliantly written novels like Druon's.

In the eyes of professional scholars Druon's position is more ambiguous and vulnerable. Applauded for his virtuosity, he nevertheless exposes himself to distrust for his lack of rationality — remember Tondriau — though many would perhaps feel happy if they could believe him. It is thanks to the peculiar laws of his literary genre, that he was allowed to 'Leave the American Sector' without running risks and to (re-)introduce for a while the concept of 'intelligent design' into individual and collective history. So, let us thank the gods that we had such geniuses among us who dared break through the strict limitations imposed by modern scholarship, cross the fatal border line, and open our minds to dimensions that otherwise would no longer have been accessible.

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